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Facing the Past: Engendering the Study of Iron Age Celtic Human Imagery in Continental Europe

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FACING THE PAST: ENGENDERING THE STUDY OF IRON AGE CELTIC HUMAN IMAGERY IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE

by

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ABSTRACT

FACING THE PAST: ENGENDERING THE STUDY OF IRON AGE CELTIC HUMAN IMAGERY IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE

by Christopher Allen

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Iconography is an important tool in understanding the past because it may express a people's understanding of the world through representations of stories or figures, including human beings. The continental early Iron Age Celts left behind no written sources but did leave iconographic representations of humans in the form of full bodies as well as heads. How the Celts saw their world and how they perceived and gendered other humans or anthropomorphic beings can be partially accessed via these representations. This thesis examines a representative sample of statues and figures from Iberia, Gaul, and Central Europe from an intersectional perspective focused on status and gender. Details such as facial features, jewelry, or weapons have often been associated with certain genders or statuses, but to date, no systematic comparative analysis has been carried out to determine whether there are any geographic or temporal patterns in these representations. Items such as arm rings and belts have been reevaluated to test the idea that status may have been as important as gender in such representations. This study was able to demonstrate that images with masculine or male features appear more frequently in stone or metal than those with feminine or female features and that facial hair in emic imagery challenges the stereotypical view presented by Mediterranean sources that emphasize moustaches rather than beards. The presence and placement of belts and arm rings in iconographic representations likewise does not conform to expected patterns from mortuary contexts, possibly due to differential preservation. This project opens a dialogue for

future analysis of gendered objects through iconographic analysis. An intersectional analysis of human figural representation in Celtic iconography has the potential to expand our understanding of gender in Iron Age Europe by interrogating objects intended to depict human or anthropomorphic beings.

Key Words: Iron Age, Europe, Iconography, Gender, Celts

To my parents, James and Lynn

and

To my faith, Bright Blessings.

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Chapter 1. Introduction and Literature Review

Introduction

Human imagery is a common motif in many cultures, including the people of Continental Iron Age Europe. Iconography can express the beliefs of the designer/producer, the community, or the culture as a whole, and can help archaeologists understand past cultures, how they saw the world, each other, their cosmology, their history, or what they valued enough to depict on objects. However, without the cultural frames of reference or contemporary written sources, it is difficult to determine the meaning of iconography in pre-literate societies. This is especially true for the Iron Age cultures of Europe, which have left very few to no written sources from the various periods and across the multiple geographic regions in which Celtic-speaking groups are found. In spite of these limitations the available iconography can provide useful information for analysis.

The human head, in particular, was an important element of Celtic Iron Age representational art (Armit 2005, 86; Finlay 1973: 64 & 76; Green 1989: 4; Megaw 1989: 16-19). Continental Iron Age representations of the human form are analyzed to determine if there are any patterns in the variables signaling gender and status; these results are then tested against the images on the iconic Gundestrup cauldron to determine the effectiveness of the protocol developed to engender the analysis of such images. This study's contribution to the archaeological and scholastic record is in the synthetic application of gender theory to Iron Age iconography. The resulting database of images represents a resource that can be used by other researchers.

Research Questions

The theoretical perspective of intersectional gender theory will be applied to assess how the Iron Age people of Europe expressed gender ideology in their human imagery. This approach has been used to analyze mortuary contexts in Iron Age Europe (Arnold 1995, 2016; Knüsel 2002), including gender and status configurations. The following research questions will guide the study and analysis:

1) What conventions were used in Iron Age human representations to signal gender and status?

2) What conventions were used to represent primary and secondary sexual characteristics in whole body imagery?

3) How variable are representations of facial hair in representations of human heads?

4) Do representations of female vs. male figures vary in frequency and/or presence in different regions of Iron Age Europe, and are changes noticeable through time?

5) How common are gender-neutral or ambiguous anthropomorphic representations, and do they share contextual, material, or temporal characteristics?

6) Is there a correlation between the date, material, scale, and context of an image and the likelihood that it will be identifiably gendered?

7) To what extent can we see evidence for trans-Alpine influences before the Roman conquest in anthropomorphic imagery?

Research Context

The geographic and temporal parameters for this study are the Iron Age of temperate Europe from ca.1100/ 1000 BCE to AD 100. The start date represents the end of the Hallstatt A and B phases that were part of the late Bronze Age and the start of the Hallstatt C and D phases (1000- 450 BCE), which were part of the early Iron Age. This continues into the late Iron Age, known as the La Tène (450 BCE-100 CE) period, and ends a little after the Roman invasion of Gaul (58-52 BCE) in central and western Europe, and includes the Germanic-speaking areas of Europe, Gaul (modern France), the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal), the Czech Republic, and northern Italy.

Figure 1.1. Map of Europe with regions included in the study in green.

These areas and time periods are typically associated with a group called the Celts that are defined as sharing linguistic and cultural aspects as loosely linked groups in central and western Europe. Due to the debate over the use of the term "Celts" (Collis 2003: 9-12; Cunliffe 2018: 1-2; Karl 2004: 185), I will be refraining from using it in this thesis, using either by the period designations Hallstatt/La Tène or Iron Age people instead. A more in-depth discussion of this controversy appears in Chapter 2.

Table 1.1. Time frame for this study (based on Cunliffe 2008; Fokkens and Harding 2013; Price 2013; Werner 2019).

<table>
<tr><th>Date</th><th>Iberian Peninsula</th><th colspan="2">Central Europe</th></tr>
<tr><td>800 BCE</td><td rowspan="5">Iberian IA</td><td rowspan="3">Early IA (Hallstatt)</td><td>Ha C1 a/b</td></tr>
<tr><td>700 BCE</td><td>Ha C1b/C2</td></tr>
<tr><td>600 BCE</td><td>Ha C2/D1</td></tr>
<tr><td>500 BCE</td><td rowspan="5">Late IA (La Tène)</td><td>Ha D2/3, LT A</td></tr>
<tr><td>400 BCE</td><td>LT A/B</td></tr>
<tr><td>300 BCE</td><td rowspan="4">Carthaginian/Roman Period</td><td>LT C1</td></tr>
<tr><td>200 BCE</td><td>LT C2/D1</td></tr>
<tr><td>100 BCE</td><td>LT D1/D2</td></tr>
<tr><td>BCE/CE</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">Roman Period</td></tr>
<tr><td>100 CE</td></tr>
</table>

Iron Age iconography has been interpreted as reflecting religious traditions linked to divine beings or supernatural forces who were thought to give power, protection, or favors (Finlay 1973: 76; Green 1989: 4; Megaw 1989: 16). There is a heavy emphasis on geometric motifs with relatively few representational human and animal figures in Hallstatt iconography, while in the La Tène period anthropomorphic figures become more common, some of which might be divine representations (Green 1989: 3; Megaw 1989: 56). There are various iconographic images of possible deities, usually in the form of statues. Three famous deities represented in Gallic art are Cernunnos, the Lord of the Hunt, Epona, the Horse Goddess or earth

mother, and Taranis, the Wheel God. Cernunnos is represented by an antlered male holding a torc and a snake or stags/rams and wearing a torc (Figure 1.2); he is also referred to as the Master of Animals, as in the case of the Felbach-Schmiden triptych and the Gundestrup cauldron (Arnold 2010: 197; Finlay 1973: 68; Megaw 1989: 174). Taranis the Wheel God (Figure 1.3), associated with storms, the sun, or fertility, is also common (Green 1984: 103, 1989: 117).

Figure. 1.2. Image of Cernunnos from the Gundestrup cauldron.

Figure. 1.3. A statue of Taranis from Le Chatelet, France.

Heads and skulls are commonly depicted in sculptures and as embellishments on weapons, jewelry, and other adornments (Megaw 1989: 69-74). Some of these heads have traits that suggest male gender based on the presence of facial hair but most appear androgynous or unidentifiable. Some scholars have argued that European Iron Age peoples believed that heads were the seat of the soul and maintained wisdom and power after death (Finlay 1973: 64). Ever since the early Christian writers began discussing the pre-Christian Celts, the head-hunting barbarian trope was a frequent element in Roman and later Christian propaganda and the inspiration for the concept known as the "Cult of the Head" (Armit 2005: 86-87), the belief that heads were the seat of the soul in Iron Age Europe (Armit 2012, 9-10 & 18-20). A warrior might bring home a head or mount it somewhere to communicate with the deceased person, one possible explanation for why heads are prevalent motifs (Finlay 1973: 64; Ghezal et al. 2019). Heads in Iron Age iconography may have also represented heroic figures, deities, or ancestors, but because we lack written records other ways of analyzing these representations must be used.

Temperate European Iron Age iconography before the Roman conquest appears to have developed in local or native societies with some Etruscan influence (Finlay 1973: 78; Megaw 1989: 20-21). After the Romans cross the Alps (58-52 BCE), bringing their artistic conventions for representing human beings with them, a new sense of realism is introduced into Celtic anthropomorphic iconography (Finlay 1973: 78; Megaw 1989: 21). Thus, native art styles move away from the Hallstatt and early La Tène abstract style and develop into what is referred to as Gallo-Roman art, a hybrid style that frequently appears in figural representations (Finlay 1973: 78), making it possible to identify gender, age and status in these later anthropomorphic figures.

Greco-Roman Perspective

Iron Age people were aliterate, so there are few written sources that might provide a sense of their appearance. However, both the Greeks and Romans describe the appearance of Iron Age Celtic peoples. Diodorus Siculus, a Greek historian of the 1st century BCE, is a good example:

> “In this manner they amass a great amount of gold, which is used for ornament not only by the women but also by the men. For around their wrists and arms they wear bracelets, around their necks heavy necklaces of solid gold and huge rings they wear as well, and even corselets of gold.” (Library of History. Book V. 27. 3)
>
> "The Gauls are tall of body, with rippling muscles, and white of skin and their hair is blond, and not only naturally so, but they also make it their practice by artificial means to increase the distinguishing colour which nature has given it. For they are always washing their hair in lime-water, and they pull it back from the forehead to the top of the head and back to the nape of the neck, with the result that their appearance is like that of Satyrs and Pans, since the treatment of their hair makes it so heavy and coarse that it differs in no respect from the mane of horses. Some of them shave the beard, but others let it grow a little; and the nobles shave their cheeks, but they let the moustache grow until it covers the mouth. Consequently, when they are eating, their moustaches become entangled in the food, and when they are drinking, the beverage passes, as it were, through a kind of a strainer." (Library of History. Book V. 28. 1-3).
>
> “The clothing they wear is striking — shirts which have been dyed and embroidered in varied colours, and breeches, which they call in their tongue bracae; and they wear striped coats, fastened by a buckle on the shoulder, heavy for winter wear and light for summer, in which are set checks, close together and of varied hues. (32 2) For armour they use long shields, as high as a man, which are wrought in a manner peculiar to them, some of them even having the figures of animals embossed on them in bronze, and these are skilfully worked with an eye not only to beauty but also to protection. On their heads they put bronze helmets which have large embossed figures standing out from them and give an appearance of great size to those who wear them; for in some cases horns are attached to the helmet so as to form a single piece, in other cases images of the fore-parts of birds or four-footed animals. (3) Their trumpets are of peculiar nature and such as barbarians use, for when they are blown upon they give forth a harsh sound, appropriate to the tumult of war. Some of them have iron cuirasses, chain-wrought, but others are satisfied with the armour which Nature has given them and go into battle naked. In place of the short sword they carry long broad-swords which are hung on chains of iron or bronze and are worn along the right flank. And some of them gather up their shirts

> with belts plated with gold or silver. (4) The spears they brandish, which they call lanciae, have iron heads a cubit in length and even more, and a little under two palms in breadth; for their swords are not shorter than the javelins of other peoples, and the heads of their javelins are larger than the swords of others. Some of these javelins come from the forge straight, others twist in and out in spiral shapes for their entire length, the purpose being that the thrust may not only cut the flesh, but mangle it as well, and that the withdrawal of the spear may lacerate the wound." (Library of History. Book V. 29. 1-4)

The most detailed descriptions focus on the appearance of adult men; women are mentioned only once in the passages quoted above and only in comparison with men. Both the Greek and Roman writers mainly interacted with adult men, so other possible biases aside, these descriptions hardly cover the full spectrum of social categories. Diodorus compares Celtic Iron Age men to animals whose hair resembles manes because they style it with lime and shave their facial hair leaving only a moustache. While not a flattering comparison, it is echoed in Caesar's description of British "Celts": "They wear their hair long and have every part of their body shaved except their head and upper lip" (Caesar. The Gaulic Wars. Book V. 14). This savage and barbaric image of the Iron Age people is reflected in Roman and Greek images of the Gauls (Figures 1.4 and 1.5).

Figure 1.4. The Dying Gaul (230-220 BCE).

Figure 1.5. Galatian's suicide with his wife (230-220 BCE).

The images above represent Roman copies of 3rd c. BCE Greek representations of Gauls as warlike romantic yet tragic figures. They are depicted nude with medium to long wild/spiked hair (just past the ears to the neck). The Greco-Roman written sources correspond to the depictions of the torc, limed hair, and nudity. The nudity and long hair as elements of a warrior are also seen in the Etruscan temple frieze of Civita Alba (second century BCE) from Marche, Italy, which depicts nude Gallic warriors in retreat (Figure 1.6). The first two statues (Figures 1.4 and 1.5) were commissioned by Attalus I after his victories over the Gauls of Galatia but are based on Hellenistic originals from the 3rd century BCE, while the terracotta frieze may depict the sacking of Delphi in 279 BCE or a Celtic raid on the Temple of Apollo and Artemis at Didyma near Miletus in 277-276 BCE (Müller 2009: 50, 90-91). Based on these descriptions and sculptures, the Greeks and Romans saw the Celts of La Tène Europe as having short or medium-

length hair, cleanly shaven except for a large moustache that curved around the face, wearing torcs and displaying their muscular bodies in war. It is important to note that the Greeks and Romans were often in conflict with the peoples north of the Alps and their depictions are therefore presumed to be biased. This study will test the accuracy of these Greco-Roman descriptions against indigenous iconography and the evidence from the mortuary record.

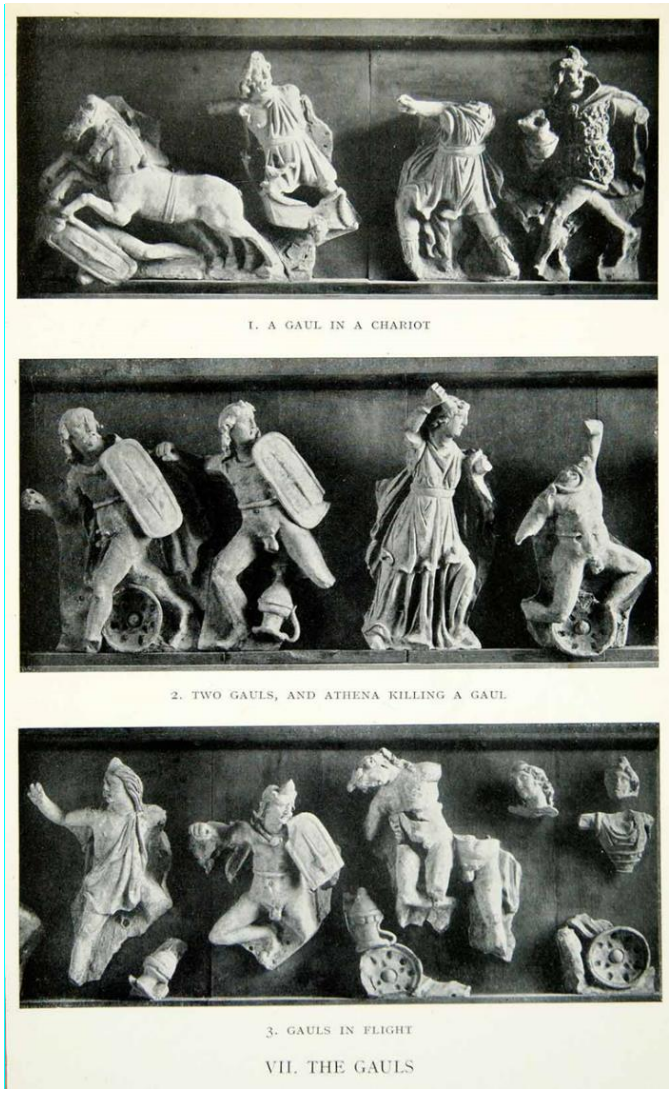

Figure 1.6. Civita Alba Etruscan temple frieze (2nd century BCE).

Later in the 4th century CE a Roman of Greek ancestry in the Roman military named Ammianus Marcellinus wrote about the Gauls and especially their women. While this source

describes a period outside the scope of the current study, it illustrates the persistence of gender stereotypes in Roman representations of Iron Age peoples:

> Almost all Gauls are tall and fair-skinned, with reddish hair. Their savage eyes make them fearful objects; they are eager to quarrel and excessively truculent. When in the course of a dispute any of them calls in his wife, a creature with gleaming eyes much stronger than her husband, they are more than a match for a whole group of foreigners; especially when the woman, with swollen neck and gnashing teeth, swings her great white arms and begins to deliver a rain of punches mixed with kicks, like missiles launched by the twisted strings of a catapult (Ammianus Marcellinus *History*, 15.12).

While this is unlikely to be an accurate representation of the men and women of Gaul, it highlights the fair skin color, hair color, and height that they were perceived to have. Even 300 years after Gaul was conquered, these stereotypes remained.

Literature Review

Intersectionality

One of the core concepts in this study is intersectionality, an approach to understanding social configurations that recognizes and includes multiple aspects of identity. This concept was developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw in her articles about the intersectionality of black women (1989, 1991). As Crenshaw notes, intersectionality examines how different identifiers play into the experience of identity and should not be analyzed separately because they exist at the same time and play a role in the experiences of the person (Crenshaw 1991: 1244). In short, a person is more than just their race, gender, status, age, etc. They are all of those identifiers at the same time and their experiences will be influenced by all of these to one degree or another depending on context.

In the context of this study intersectionality means that a statue may represent multiple identities simultaneously, with various elements contributing to the meaning of the image. For

example, a statue such as the Glauberg figure (Appendix A. 1) combines sex (facial hair), gender (weapons/armor, arm rings) and status (headdress/hat, weapons/armor, and torc) symbols. All of these symbols contribute to symbolize a paramount elite male individual whose authority was likely based on martial prowess as a warrior. Additionally, the intersectionality approach allows this study to examine which elements of someone's identity are most prominently displayed in these sculptural representations. The intersectional approach has been applied to mortuary analysis for this time period so it can be tested by applying it to iconography in a novel approach grounded in years of previous research. The additional benefit of the intersectional approach to iconographic representation is that it allows us to reexamine how we understand gendered, status, or other identity markers influenced by previous interpretations in the mortuary or iconographic records. It is entirely possible that archaeologists have been emphasizing the importance of certain elements that had different or less important meaning to the cultures that constructed these images. This is why paradigms need to be reexamined and reinterpreted as new information or perspectives become available.

Certain identities in prehistoric societies are difficult or impossible to access due to the limitations of the archaeological record; iconography is no exception. Age, marital status, social role, kin relationships, number of children, changes in identity over time, etc. are difficult or impossible to represent in images in ways that can be understood today. Additionally, the extent of the visibility of gender is based on whether previous cultures incorporated a dichotomous or multiple gender categories as well as how often non-dichotomous genders are represented (Cougle 2009: 56). This study attempts to develop a way to approach sex, gender and status as interconnected variables that play a role separately and in combination in Iron Age societies in temperate Europe. Our inability to know who produced the images and for what audience

likewise limits what we can say about the ways gender can be approached from an intersectional perspective in ethnographic or contemporary societies.

The Archaeology of Gender

Gender manifests itself in societies in the following ways: gender role, gender attribution, gender identity, and gender ideology (Spector and Whelan 1991: 69). These categories are defined by Spector and Whelan (1991) as follows:

- Gender Role: The activities associated with a particular gender. These can include social activities, patterns, relations, and behaviors in a cultural setting.
- Gender Attribution: How others see a gender. The biological or material markers that others use to identify a gender. This may or may not reflect gender identity.
- Gender Identity: How a person views and describes themselves. This is regardless of genetic markers.
- Gender Ideology: The meanings of gendered terms. How a culture defines concepts such as masculine, feminine, male, female, reproduction, sex, or any other gendered term. This may also include sanctions and appropriate behavior for genders, as well as explanations for relationships between genders and cosmological gender concepts that assign gender to natural phenomena.

The extent to which all four of these categories can be accessed by this study is limited by the absence of emic written sources and the relative rarity of anthropomorphic images that have come down to us from the European Iron Age. Iconography is least likely to communicate gender identity as that is a personal reflection of an individual's expression of gender. Gender role will also be limited as iconography does not always display the roles or actions of a

particular gender. When there are such indications – the presence of weapons, for example – there is a tendency to over-interpret them by automatically assigning a role such as "warrior" to such images. In this study especially, there are no indicators regarding the social activities that different genders might have engaged in, though in combination with the mortuary record, status and role may be indicated. Gender ideology is also difficult to observe through iconography given that the absence of written sources precludes engendering the universe or linguistic categories. However, iconography (in conjunction with mortuary archaeology) can suggest differences in the appearance of certain groups of people based both on sex and age, which may include aspects of gender ideology and gender attribution. This study assumes that gender attribution on the part of the creator/artist would have been informed by the gender ideology of the culture and can therefore allow us to better understand gender distinctions in the Iron Age.

Iconography and Gender Identification

The study of gender in iconography has been applied in many archaeological contexts. For example, much has been written on the subject of gender in Egyptian iconography. Hélène Bouillon (2014) discusses the role hair plays in identifying gender, age and other more ideological traits such as fertility and association with deities in that cultural context. Specific hairstyles like the Hathoric curls (depictions of hair in the shape of bovine horns similar to the Egyptian goddess Hathor) in Egypt (during the Middle Kingdom around 2066-1650 BCE) and the Levant (Middle Bronze Age 1792-1550) are associated mainly with females but also serve as a symbol of fertility or sexuality and are not exclusively female (Bouillon 2014: 212-213). Children were depicted in Egyptian iconography with a sidelock, a reminder that hair in iconographic representations can be used to signal age and gender differences (Harrington 2018: 542). Bouillon's article demonstrates that ceramic, stone, and metal figurines and two-

dimensional wall art can be used to identify various social categories of persons, including gender categories, based on certain features such as hairstyles that may be reinforced by additional symbols. For example, in the Levant, curls of hair are found combined with prominent pubic triangles in figurines sometimes depicted holding their breasts, thought to be a sign of sexual attraction or fertility (Bouillon 2014: 212). This serves as a reminder that gender signals typically have additional meanings and should be supported by other categories of evidence.

Gender identity may, in some cases, be accessible through iconography as well. For example, Uroš Matić (2016) has examined gender and queerness in ancient Egypt through an analysis of the figure of Hatshepsut, a queen of the 18th dynasty (1550-1295 BCE) (Matić 2016: 813). Matić notes that linguistic markers and iconographic representations suggest the existence of an apparent dichotomy between males and females in ancient Egypt, which he also interprets to mean there would have been some societal separation of sex and gender (Matić 2016: 811). He suggests that there would have been distinct differences in experiences based on several factors, including age, ethnicity, occupation, social class, and wealth (Matić 2016: 812). Matić concludes that researchers have limited to no access to written sources from the perspective of ordinary people. Inscriptions and textual evidence can help expand (to a degree) the understanding of how the ancient Egyptians saw and categorized gender in terms of gender ideology, the way gender is conceptualized.

Matić's article defines gender in New Kingdom Egypt using the study of Hatshepsut to analyze the complexity of form and dress as Hatshepsut was often depicted in a man's outfit and referred to as a "lesbian" or "transvestite" (Matić 2016: 816). Hatshepsut's appearance, even in these male guises, did not entirely negate the Queen's femininity, as in most images, she is still

depicted with breasts. Matić notes that her contemporaries would have known her as a woman and realized that the garb she is depicted in reflects her station and not her gender identity (Matić 2016: 816-818). One of the significant points about gender and iconography that Matić stresses is that researchers need to be aware of the binary and heteronormative bias of most western cultures and that images are more likely to represent social or other cultural norms rather than the identity of the person depicted (Matić 2016: 826-827). For this study, the author expects the representations to be more metaphorical, symbolic, and general, and less individual, making further study of the social norms depicted in the imagery possible. In other words, the gender ideology of Iron Age Europe is more likely to be reflected in the iconography than gender identity or everyday roles of men and women. In contrast, the presence of grooming equipment like razors or toiletry sets could reflect gender role and gender attribution but may not reflect gender identity. However, it is always a good reminder to keep our own cultural biases in check when dealing with iconographic representations in the ancient world, particularly when emic texts do not accompany these.

Another marker of gender in the Egyptian and Mediterranean world is the use of color. Mary Eaverly in her book *Tan Men/Pale Women: Color and Gender in Archaic Greece and Egypt. A Comparative Approach* (2013) discusses how light skin tones are used to depict female or feminine forms and dark skin tones depict male or masculine figures (Corcoran and Albertson 2015: 253). While this marker is useful for the Mediterranean context, outside of Iberia there is no evidence to suggest the use of color on the stone anthropomorphic imagery analyzed in this thesis. For this reason, the category of color was not included here.

Analyses of Anthropomorphic Imagery in Iron Age Europe

Anthropomorphic imagery from Iron Age Europe has been reevaluated and reimagined many times and analyzing this source of evidence is not a new phenomenon. One of the first magisterial efforts was Paul Jacobsthal's 1944 publication *Early Celtic Art*. Jacobsthal's book catalogued and described 419 objects from Hallstatt and La Tène period Europe and opens with an exhortation by the author to the reader that they should begin by viewing the objects without intellectual prejudice, arguing that they should be experienced before being studied (Hawkes 1947: 192; Jacobsthal 1969). The first four chapters of Jacobsthal's book deal with human imagery in stone and metal, figures of animals, ornamental motifs, and materials (Hawkes 1947: 192-196; Jacobsthal 1969). Material culture is compared across the various related Iron Age regions of Europe in order to identify the distribution of styles and possible eastern influences (Hawkes 1947: 192-196; Jacobsthal 1969). Jacobsthal associates human head imagery, especially when it is combined with floral imagery, with Etruscan or Greek influence possibly related to Egyptian styles (Hawkes 1947: 193; Jacobsthal 1969). While there is little to support the idea of Egyptian influences today, the idea of carrying out a comparative analysis to identify foreign influences is an important aspect of Celtic iconographic studies.

The fifth and sixth chapters finish out the book with a discussion of chronology and further discussion of contact with the east and the supposed impacts it had on the styles of Iron Age iconography (Hawkes 1947: 197-198). Jacobsthal explores the contradictions between the image that the Greco-Roman authors have handed down to us of the Celtic peoples of Europe vs. the images produced by the Celts themselves, demonstrating that iconography can be used to provide a voice or perspective for those who did not leave a written record (Hawkes 1947: 198).

More recent studies of Iron Age iconography include *How the Ancient Europeans Saw the World* (Wells 2012), which also examines a range of Iron Age material culture. However, the objects are used to explore ideas about status, performance, and visualization through the objects. Wells refrains from using the words art, artist, artwork, or artifact because they are full of modern connotations that impair the modern reader's perspective (Wells 2012: xiii). In trying to avoid the modern reader's biases Wells explains how the lives of the Iron Age people are very different from the people of today but through iconography modern people can gain a glimpse into the ancient world (Wells 2012: 7-8). Although the approach here is more post-modern than Jacobsthal's culture history angle, the two authors share the idea that these objects should be felt and experienced without imposing contemporary values onto them. Wells examines objects from the Bronze and Iron Age of Europe by identifying the object's constituent elements to explore what those elements can tell a viewer about the society that created it. Wells also discusses how mortuary data can be used as a code for how people arrange objects in a meaningful way that communicates social cues that archaeologists can study (Wells 2012: 131-136). Wells ends his book by reaffirming the idea that visual expressions were the primary method of communication for millennia and that further research into understanding them is important to understanding past cultures as well as current ones (Wells 2012: 228-229).

Similarly, Rosemary Joyce (2020) raises the question why archaeologists shy away from the term art or the study of art history when that is a principal element of study for archaeology (Joyce 2020). The core of Joyce's short article is that archaeologists not only should engage more with the artistic community to understand how art affects people, but that contemporary ideas about art shouldn't discourage archaeologists because objects have always represented a conversation between the artist, the community, and the workshop, which is relevant to

understanding how past societies functioned as well as today (Joyce 2020). John Robb (2020) takes this a step further by attempting to create a style type for prehistoric art similar to the distinctive styles of the Medieval, Renaissance, and Modern periods (Robb 2020: 455). In doing so, Robb makes a number of good points about prehistoric and especially Iron Age art and iconography. First, he notes that art is not solely a form of creative expression but in prehistoric periods it held social, religious, and political power—as it continues to do today (Robb 2020: 458). Next, he points out that how a person views an object is affected by the cultural, political and social backgrounds they come from and these must be placed in their historic contexts to be understood (Robb 2020: 463). Then he outlines three categories to consider when analyzing prehistoric art: 1) where is it located; 2) who has access to the object and what elements are depicted; 3) and what patterns in the thematic arrangement of designs can be identified (Robb 2020: 464). He goes on to give an overview of art styles from the Neolithic to the Iron Age in Europe and when discussing the Iron Age, he points out a few concepts that are directly relevant to this study. First, Bronze and Iron Age art is the birth of narrative art and was used to tell stories (Robb 2020: 472-473). Additionally, this is the period when gender expression becomes more prevalent in art (Robb 2020: 473). Lastly, he points out that this approach is new and requires further exploration, but it is worthy of additional study because prehistoric art is highly connected to events and sociopolitical concepts in the time in which it was produced (Robb 2020: 475).

More traditional studies of Iron Age imagery have tended to follow the culture history approach. A good example is the work of J.V.S. and Ruth Megaw, who published extensively on Iron Age iconography, including head imagery and human representations that they argue may represent divine beings (Megaw and Megaw 1989: 16). They have suggested that the human

imagery in Iron age Europe was used mostly for religious, ritualistic, and/or spiritual purposes (Megaw and Megaw 1989: 20-21, 172, 178). The idea that many of these figures represent divine beings or euhemerized ancestors who serve much the same purpose significantly influences this thesis. While not all the images are expected to represent gods or semi-divine beings, those found in mortuary contexts may represent ancestors or be associated with burials to honor the entombed individual.

Archaeological examples of this category of human figure include the Hirschlanden and Glauberg figures and some of the stone sculptures found in Iron Age Iberia and northern Italy. The first two statues mentioned above were found associated with burials whose grave goods matched the items depicted on the bodies (Stöllner 2014: 119-124). The statues may represent the veneration of ancestors as semi-divine or heroic figures (Stöllner 2014: 125). A euhemerized ancestor may be venerated by the community or by a tribe, such as Odin/Wotan in Anglo-Saxons contexts or the Roman god Faunus, represented as the king and father of Latinus in the Aeneid (Fantham 2009: 47; Tyler 2013: 1-2). This is similar to the veneration of Medieval Christian saints as paragons of the faith, which is why their bones or images are venerated and prayed to by people in search of aid. While the features found in images may reflect how the community saw that person and could include gender expression, they could also reflect a generalized or symbolic representation that had little or nothing to do with the identity of the person depicted.

Another useful model for this thesis that combines mortuary and iconographic evidence in Iron Age Europe is Frie's *Cultural Constructions of Nature: Animal Representation and Use in Early Iron Age Southeastern Slovenia* (2017), which examines animal representations to investigate gender, sex, status, and identity. The methodological and theoretical approach Frie developed influenced the current study. In her work, Frie examines the relationship between

zoological and anthropomorphic motifs on Iron Age objects from Slovenia (situla art, personal ornaments, feasting equipment, etc.) and combines that dataset with information from mortuary contexts to analyze the relationships between what is seen in burials vs. what is seen in iconography.

Frie argues that iconographic representations should be examined not merely as art but as artifacts that would have held meaning, created intricate relationships between the viewer and the object, and reflected social norms or concepts that were integrated into the creation of the objects based on the knowledge of the creator (Frie 2017: 13-14). Frie also argues that because cultural knowledge was embedded in the iconography, by studying artifacts together with their contexts, archaeologists can reconstruct some aspects of the culture's belief system (Frie 2017: 14-15).

In studying prehistoric gender configurations and concepts, iconography is a useful tool because of its ability to encode the social norms and cultural contexts of the artisan(s) or crafter(s) involved with the artifact's construction (Cunliffe 2018: 240-241). However, the limitations of this evidence are outlined concisely in Simandiraki-Grimshaw (2010: 322), who identifies three main problems in studying iconography:

> 1. we do not have the whole story, i.e., we lack the cultural understanding that a contemporary of these depictions would have used to complete the scenes.
> 2. we examine them as disembodied experiences.
> 3. we still knowingly use extraordinary depictions to create generalizations about ordinary human corporealities.

Simandiraki-Grimshaw's review of Minoan anthropomorphic religious iconography from the third to second millennium BCE suggests that iconography can be used to discern gender based on dress and adornments, certain sexed body parts, and how the iconography was used in the creation process as well as the ritual/personal interactions between people and the object

(Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2010: 323-324). In Minoan iconography, heads are given more attention than bodies because they make an individual stand out in a crowd, whereas the rest of the body is often less detailed or hybridized with animal forms (Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2010: 324). The author suggests that emphasizing one part of the body can stand for the essence of the whole, referred to as *pars pro toto*, and the head is the ideal body part to emphasize (Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2010: 324). This study applies to the current project because it demonstrates that a successful analysis can be carried out despite the limitations posed by engendering depictions when the head is the only detailed body part available.

Further limitations of such analyses are summarized by Bradley (2009), who suggests that the main problem with studying prehistoric iconography or art is that much of the imagery lacks context; this is why investigating the broader context of the iconography can help us understand the meaning behind it (Bradley 2009: vi-vii). This study will consider the broader cultural contexts of the representations being analyzed, including location, date (when available), site type, and comparison with available mortuary data to mitigate some of the previously mentioned limitations. These limitations are further exacerbated by the problem of what survives in the archaeological record, given presumably the large number of representations made from perishable materials, such as wood and bone, that are not available for study (Cunliffe 2018: 261).

The contexts in which human figures are found vary across temperate Europe during the Iron Age, and some regions and periods are better represented than others. The majority of the artifacts analyzed in this study come from or are associated with mortuary contexts in which figures were carved out of stone, such as the Dama de Baza (Spain), Glauberg (Germany), or Hirschlanden (Germany) figures. Other artifacts come from ritual sites such as Roquepertuse or

Entremont in later Iron Age Gaul (France), where figural representations are more common than in central Germany or Spain in the 6th through 5th centuries BCE (Cunliffe 2018: 295-296). Occasionally, artifacts are found in open-air sites that may have been used for ritual depositions, such as the source of the Seine river, where wooden anthropomorphic figures were recovered (Cunliffe 2018: 293). Additionally, human representations can be found as adornments on objects such as swords, furniture, hair accessories, and jewelry, as well as sheet metal drinking and feasting vessels. However, these fall outside the scope of this study and will be only referred to in the general discussion and future research section of the conclusion.

Analyses of the Head in Iron Age Europe

Ian Armit and J.V.S. and Ruth Megaw are among the authors who have made a special study of representations of the human head in Iron Age Celtic Europe. Armit discusses both head imagery, and human remains involving the manipulation of heads. Armit has argued that the Cult of the Head concept was associated with head-hunting/taking and that the head held a spiritual or sacred meaning across Europe during the Iron Age (Armit 2005: 86-87). While there is evidence for head-hunting and the importance of the head in Celtic iconography, this should not be assumed to have been a cult that spanned all of the Celtic world creating a single unified religious identity (Arnold 2013). However, many of Armit's ideas about human representations in sculptures are pertinent to this study and are supported by other archaeological evidence.

In a separate study, Armit and Grant conducted a gestural analysis of arm positions in stone sculptures during the Hallstatt period. They compared these to body positions in burials to identify possible patterns, including gender differences (Armit and Grant 2007: 419-421). Armit and Grant conclude that few details express or are associated with gender, and those that do exist must be compared to other sources of evidence, such as grave goods and body position in burials

(Armit and Grant 2007: 418-420). This is a fundamental idea to keep in mind as attempting to reconstruct the gender ideology of a people who left no written records, whose skeletal remains are often dissolved due to acidic soil conditions, or who were practicing what has been called "the invisible rite" of corpse disposal (Bradbury et al. 2016: 566; Fontijn 2007: 80-81) is a difficult undertaking. While it is difficult, if not impossible, for archaeologists to understand all aspects of a past society's gender ideology, it is possible through continuous and rigorous examination and reinterpretation of data to understand certain aspects such as ascribed gender or gender roles, which is what this study attempts to do (Arnold 1995: 153-154).

Gender in Mortuary Contexts

Grave goods are one of the most important sources of information about gender in Iron Age burials, especially when skeletal remains are poorly preserved. However, while grave goods allow archaeologists to examine gender roles and attribution, gender identity is more difficult to access (Spector and Whelan 1991: 69). The dead do not bury themselves so unless the living follow specific pre-mortem requests about how the individual would like to be dressed or what they want to be buried with, it is the living who choose the outfit and accompanying grave goods associated with the deceased (Cougle 2009: 57; Parker Pearson 1993: 3). How the living choose to dress the dead typically will reflect gender role and the gender identity attributed to the individual by the community rather than their individual gender identity. Although such an ascribed gender identity would be filtered through the surviving community members, it does allow archaeologists to partly access gender norms and categorizations to some extent.

An example of how the surviving community can ascribe not only gender but also status to the dead is represented by a 9th century BCE Athenian burial. Found in a trench-and-hole burial on the slopes of Areopagus in Athens, Greece, this grave contained an adult female and

fetus with enough grave goods to assume this woman was an elite of some importance. Nicknamed “the rich Athenian lady” (Lloyd 2020), the burial contained a number of objects of jewelry (rings, earrings, necklaces) made of gold, glass and other materials imported from the Levant or further east (Llyod 2020). Initially it was assumed that the rich grave goods were associated with the adult female but further examination suggests that the woman’s position was attained through the fetus, as Athenian women did not have many rights (Lloyd 2020). However, women were most likely the ones overseeing the funerary rites so a woman who had died in childbirth might have been viewed as a special double burial (Lloyd 2020). Overall, this burial explores the complexities of not only gender but status as the woman buried here has gone through a number interpretations based on “modern” viewpoints. Burials such as the rich Athenian lady demonstrate that there are a number of complex societal rules involved in the disposal of the dead and it is our job as archaeologists to consider not only multiple interpretations but additional sources of information to inform those interpretations (Lloyd 2020).

For example, the objects buried with the dead are sometimes the same as those depicted in anthropomorphic images, which can be helpful in interpreting both the figures and the burials. In Iron Age temperate Europe, women were associated with particular combinations of personal ornament (Arnold 1995: 160; Arnold and Hagmann 2010:1-2), while some men were associated with weapons or personal hygiene implements such as razors but are otherwise largely invisible from a gender perspective (Arnold 2016: 841). This has perpetuated gender stereotypes that confine men to a warrior role and women to the domestic sphere, the "binary bind" described by Ghisleni et al. (2016), but more recent finds have resulted in a paradigm shift. Among other insights, mortuary analysis demonstrates that only around 10% of adult male burials contain

weapons and no subadults do (Arnold 2016: 842-843), which means that in the absence of skeletal remains, about a third of any given burial population cannot be gendered. It also indicates that age and gender were closely interconnected in Iron Age society, which complicates the gendering of images such as those of Cernunnos, the Horned God, who is sometimes shown with a full beard and sometimes without facial hair (Fickett-Wilbar 2003: 81, 86, 88; Green 1989: 89-91; Kruta 2015: 168). This thesis will attempt to determine whether this pattern is reflected in Iron Age representations of the human form as well as mortuary contexts (Arnold 2016: 842-843). Spears and swords are another curious case because they are seldom found together in the same grave, suggesting that these weapon categories were associated with different status, role, or symbolic meaning beyond that of "warrior" (Arnold 2016: 841-842). In addition, bladed objects, including razors, may be found in graves that are not in the paramount elite category (Arnold 2016: 841).

Objects such as swords, drinking vessels, armor, or jewelry like torcs may appear on human figures. Such objects not only denote gender but may also mark status or social roles. When combined with the presence of facial hair or genitalia, such iconographic representations make an intersectional approach to engendering the analysis of Iron Age iconography possible. While determining or distinguishing between sex and gender is complicated, Geller (2008: 120-122, 128) suggests that objects can be used as badges of various social identity categories. Along the same lines, the features on a human figurine may be analyzed for ascribed gender aspects or gender expressions.

Hair and Identity

Hair is a powerful tool of expression and identity that connects members belonging to a culture or sub-culture and tends to follow a particular set of rules about length, grooming, color,

and style, some of which may be linked to gender. How hair acts as a gender or identity marker is discussed by scholars studying prehistoric as well as modern societies. In most modern societies, hair serves to mark both gender and age. However, it can also express inclusion or signal membership in or allegiance to certain groups or movements (spiky-haired metal bands, uncut hair of numerous religious groups, hipster hairstyles, the counter-culture movement of the sixties and opposition to the Vietnam War, hairstyles related to specific ethnic groups, etc.).

Human hair provides a way to communicate numerous messages; facial hair or short hair on men may, for example, signal masculinity (Dixson and Rantala 2016: 878; Synnott 1987: 383). This is also linked to sex due to the genetics of balding in men (Synnott 1987: 383). In a study published in 2016, Dixson and Rantala examined the attractiveness of facial and body hair on men and determined that full-bearded facial hair was perceived to be more sexually virile and an indicator of good health and manliness, regardless of the actual health or sexual capabilities of the individual (Dixson and Rantala 2016: 884-885). Additionally, hairless bodies were found cross-culturally to be more attractive (Dixson and Rantala 2016:885). Thus, facial hair can be used to signal not only masculinity but also attractiveness.

In terms of head hair, there are several studies on how hairstyles represent group affiliation and even sexual orientation. Edmund A. Leach studied the hairstyles of men and women from India and Sri Lanka and concluded that loose or free-flowing hair signaled unrestricted sexuality, whereas tightly bound hair denoted restricted sexuality and shaved heads reflected religious affiliation (Leach 1958: 155-156; Pergament 1999: 44-45; Synnott 1987: 381). Head hair norms may have an inverse relationship in signaling in men vs. women, according to Synnott (1987:383), who discusses 20th-century hair norms. Because men are expected to go bald their masculinity is not connected to head hair, whereas well-kept long hair is a principal aspect

of femininity. This is supported by Pergament who states that a major aspect of feminism regarding hair was the rejection of the certain types of hair grooming, including body or armpit hair, thus demonstrating the cultural importance of hair grooming in women (Pergament 1999: 46).

Synnott furthers the discussion of facial hair by pointing out the gendered restrictions on facial hair. He points out that men try desperately to grow facial hair at a young age as a sign of maturity or adulthood, whereas women are told that facial hair is unwanted and can cause social ostracism, thus what is beautiful for one gender is the opposite for the other (Synnott 1987: 390). Synnott notes that while facial hair is desirable for young men, as adults settled into careers they are encouraged to be clean-shaven in the workplace (citing doctors, lawyers, TV personalities). A clean-shaven individual is likely to do better in court, one of the areas where the absence of facial hair as a desirable quality is equally important for men and women (Synnott 1987: 390). His article demonstrates that facial hair in young men serves as not only as a marker of age but of masculinity and is associated with the social implication of puberty, whereas facial hair in women of the same age would have a negative impact on their social status.

Cadwell (2007: 82) discusses how hair is a primary identity marker for African women living in Brazil and may be associated with several hurtful stereotypes specifically targeting the female gender. The chapter centers around a song from the late 1990s in Brazil called “Look at Her Hair,” which makes fun of African women in Brazil by claiming that they have poorly kept hair and because of that, they are smelly and that their hair is reminiscent of feminine cleaning pads, a very insulting set of lyrics (Cadwell 2007: 82). One of the more relevant points in this chapter is that the idea of feminine beauty and even the worth of a particular group identity (in this case, African women living in Brazil) was tied to the quality of their hair and how the style

did not fit the dominant culture's beauty ideals (Cadwell 2007: 85-86). Cadwell notes that ads for hair products aimed at African women came out around the same time as the song's release but were designed to help them get hair that was more socially acceptable, if not completely Westernized (Cadwell 2007: 96-97). All of this hate and even identity crisis for African women of Brazil (Cadwell 2007: 86) relates to the previously discussed topic of gender ideology, mixed with local beauty customs, but this article reveals that because the hair of this gender and this group of people were not in line with the standard of the major culture for the area, they are shunned and deemed unattractive.

This chapter has reviewed some of the relevant scholastic literature on the anthropology of hair as a system of signaling various kinds of belonging and identity cross-culturally and through time. The next chapter discusses the methods applied in this study, followed by the analysis and discussion of the dataset.

Chapter 2. Methods

Study Parameters and Site Locations

A selected sample of Iron Age anthropomorphic images from temperate Europe was analyzed to investigate how Iron Age people represented gender and to test the anthropomorphic imagery against other evidence for the intersection of gender, status, social role and age. This qualitative analysis compares patterns and aspects of anthropomorphic iconography from several areas of Europe to identify possible temporal and regional differences in how gender distinctions are represented. A qualitative comparative analysis was deemed the most effective approach using the presence or absence of a feature on a statue or figurine and determining which combinations appear in patterned ways. How the interpretation of these representations has been affected by and impacts current understandings of gendered representations is designed to apply to studies of the representation of gender and sex in other preliterate societies. The data set consists of 78 individual artifacts from 46 sites in nine different countries (Table 2.1; Figure 1.1).

Table 2.1. Site Locations and Number of Representations

Region	**Number of Images**	**Material**
France	33	Stone and Metal
Spain	14	Stone and Metal
Germany	11	Stone and Metal
Portugal	8	Stone and Metal
Italy	5	Stone
Croatia	2	Stone
Czech Republic	2	Stone
Switzerland	2	Stone

Slovenia	1	Metal
Total	78	

Site and object information was recorded in an Excel spreadsheet and then the data were imported into a Microsoft Access database. Pivot tables and contingency tables were used to make comparisons across categories to determine which variables occurred together and whether any temporal, geographic or other commonalities could be identified in the way gender, age and status were represented. Each object was assigned an Object ID number, but the official designation as described in the academic record was also included. Object context included the site (where known) and the country in which the site was located. This allowed questions about regional and temporal patterns to be included in the analysis. The countries represented in the study include Germany, Austria, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Liechtenstein, Switzerland, Croatia, Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal (Figure 1.1).

The iconographic representations analyzed in this study were identified by means of a survey of previously published material cross-referenced with online databases at various museums including Harvard's Peabody Museum, Cleveland Museum, British Museum, and various institutions in Spain, France, Germany, and Belgium. Additional databases such as Ariadne, Gallo-Roman Museum, Kelten Museum Hallein, Musée des Celtes, and related websites were also consulted. While these databases did not generate additional examples, these institutions' collections likely include objects not displayed online. Future research on this topic would necessitate visiting European museums in person to expand the sample size.

Only objects that pre-date the Roman crossing of the Alps in the 1st century BCE (Table 2.2) were included in order to limit outside influence on gender representation and focus on

artifacts created by the native populations based on their social norms, including gender ideology and anthropomorphic concepts. Because this study focuses on the Iron Age, only objects produced and deposited between 800 BCE and 100 CE were included in the analysis. The upper limit of 100 CE was chosen to provide an appropriate round number for cut off; the Gallic Wars would have ended 151 years prior, and the spread of Gallo-Roman art style would have had a significant impact on the indigenous stylistic conventions by that time. Stylistic change through time will be compared with the geographic distribution of these images to determine whether or not there are patterns that might be relevant to the research questions. We know that Iron Age Europe was in contact with the Greeks, Phoenicians, and Etruscans, among other peoples south of the Alps (the Golasecca culture, for example). An ancillary research question is to what extent can we see evidence for trans-Alpine influences before the Roman conquest in anthropomorphic imagery?

One of the problems with a comparative approach to the iconographic and mortuary records is the differential preservation of both of these sources of evidence. Organic materials tend to be underrepresented and we cannot know how representative the stone, ceramic, and metal objects that are better preserved are of the range of objects that were once used to send messages related to gender, status and age in these contexts. One of the goals of this study was to compare what is found in the iconography to what is in the mortuary record to strengthen the interpretative quality of these sources of evidence when considered separately. Due to looting and organic material deterioration, not everything in a grave survives; this is especially true of elite central chamber graves, which are rarely intact. Two of the best preserved graves from the 6th and 4th centuries BCE are the Horchdorf and Dama de Baza. The Hochdorf burial was excavated in the late 1970s in Baden-Württemberg, Germany and dates to 550 BCE. It is famous

because textiles, plant matter, fur, and wood survived, giving us a better idea of what might be missing in the burial record of this period (Banck-Burgess 2012: 141-142; Scarre 1998: 172-173). Additionally, various gold and bronze objects were found near or around the interred individual that provide some clues as to gender and status. These include a bronze couch held up by small bronze women and depicts scenes of what appear to be ithyphallic male figures with long hair, swords and "dumbells" in their hands as well as a golden torc, brooch, bracelet, belt plate, birchbark conical hat, and iron dagger (Scarre 1998: 174-176). Several of these items are depicted in stone on the stele from the nearby Hirschlanden tumulus; especially relevant for this thesis are the depiction of a neckring, a dagger, a belt and a head covering. It is possible that the looted Hirschlanden central chamber originally held an individual outfitted like the Hochdorf chieftain (Scarre 1998: 179; Stöllner 2014: 119-124).

The Dama de Baza burial dates to the early 4th century BCE and was discovered in the Baza cemetery in Grenada, Spain. The cremated remains of the interred woman were found in an urn inside a carved out section of the stone statue representing a female figure seated on a winged throne-like chair dressed in an elaborate costume (Peraile and Brunet 2007: 34-35). In addition to the statue, the wood chamber grave contained several ceramic vessels as well as three spearheads and three swords, three shields, and various other iron objects (Peraile and Brunet 2007: 30; Sanz 2009: 150-156). This burial illustrates one of the problems with simply assuming that the presence of weapons suggests a male individual with a martial role in society. Another remarkable aspect of the Dama de Baza statue is it still retains some of the pigment used to color the statue, providing a glimpse into what is normally a missing feature of ancient sculpture (Peraile and Brunet 2007: 32-33).

These two burials are remarkable for being intact and well-preserved, allowing archaeologists to observe how objects might have been worn and used to mark certain types of identities. They also illustrate how combining burial evidence (Hochdorf) with iconographic evidence (Hirschlanden) can help interpret at least some aspects of the problem of engendering the Iron Age past. The Dama de Baza burial provides an example of how iconography can display trends and norms that may not have survived in the mortuary record or may be ambiguous in their utility as markers of identity, as in the case of the weapons found in that grave. While it can be assumed that the majority of anthropomorphic imagery produced in Iron Age Europe has not survived due to damage or organic degredation, this study intends to demonstrate that when what remains is combined with mortuary analysis, some of the gaps in our understanding can be filled.

Site Types

The site type refers to the specific context of the artifact and includes settlements, votive deposits, and mortuary contexts, as well as isolated finds unearthed by antiquarians. These categories will help develop an approach to interpreting the potential interpretive value of the images for gender, age and status signaling, especially in a social or religious context.

Table 2.2. General chronology for the relevant regions based on Cunliffe (2008), Fokkens and Harding (2013), Price (2013), and Werner (2019). Highlighted area indicates the general time frame for the study.

<table>
<tr><th>Date</th><th>Iberia</th><th colspan="2">Central Europe</th></tr>
<tr><td>2200 BCE</td><td rowspan="4">Early BA</td><td colspan="2">Late Neolithic</td></tr>
<tr><td>2100 BCE</td><td rowspan="5">Early BA</td><td>Bz A1</td></tr>
<tr><td>2000 BCE</td></tr>
<tr><td>1900 BCE</td><td rowspan="4">Bz A2</td></tr>
<tr><td>1800 BCE</td><td rowspan="3">Middle BA</td></tr>
<tr><td>1700 BCE</td></tr>
<tr><td>1600 BCE</td></tr>
<tr><td>1500 BCE</td><td>Late BA</td><td>Middle BA</td><td>Bz B</td></tr>
</table>

1400 BCE			Bz C1
1300 BCE			BZ C2
1200 BCE			Bz D
1100 BCE	Finale BA	Finale BA	Ha A1
1000 BCE			Ha A2
900 BCE			Ha B1
800 BCE	Iberian IA	Early IA (Hallstatt)	Ha C1 a/b
700 BCE			Ha C1b/C2
600 BCE			Ha C2/D1
500 BCE		Late IA (La Tène)	Ha D2/3, LT A
400 BCE			LT A/B
300 BCE			LT C1
200 BCE	Carthaginian/Roman Period		LT C2/D1
100 BCE			LT D1/D2
BC/CE		Roman Period	
100 CE			

Variables

The following variables were recorded as indicated in Table 2.3; each variable is discussed in more detail following the table.

Table 2.3. List of variables with associated descriptions.

Variable Name	**Variable Description**
Name	Name of the object
Location	Name of the site
Region	Usually a country or state
Date Range	Date range assigned to object
Site type	Context of find
Material	Material(s) of which the object is made
Dimensions	Height, length, width, diameter as applicable
Primary/Secondary Sexual Characteristics	Presence of genitals or breasts

Post-cranial elements	Presence of torso or limbs
Position of limbs	Position of arms and legs
Head	Presence of a head
Facial Hair	Presence of facial hair (subdivided by type)
Hair	Presence of hair (subdivided by type)
Torc	Presence of a torc
Weapon	Presence of a weapon (subdivided by type)
Armor	Presence of armor (subdivided by type)
Head covering	Presence of head covering other than helmet
Arm ring	Presence of ring ornament on arms
Finger ring	Presence of ring ornament on hands
Hair Ring/Earring	Presence of rings in hair or ears
Necklace	Presence of necklace or neck jewelry
Belt	Presence of belt
Animal	Presence of animal imagery (subdivided by type)

Name

The name of the object as described or named in the literature, i.e. the Dama de Baza or the Hirschlanden stele. When a name was not provided in the literature, a descriptive designation was created to provide an identifier for each object.

Location

The name of the site where the object was found. An example of this would be the Glauberg statue found in Hessen, Germany. The country is recorded under Region (below).

These data points were used in the analysis of possible geographic patterns, although the small sample size makes this one of the least salient variables.

Region

The object's region refers to the country or ancient geographic region in which the object was found. Examples are Germany, France/Gaul, Iberia/Spain/Portugal, or Austria. The narrowest term is used for each region, such as the modern country (France) instead of the ancient territory (Gaul) where applicable. This variable was used to compare patterns between and within regions.

Date Range

The dates recorded are those assigned to each figural representation in the literature, designated as 550-500 BCE or 6th century BCE, depending on the available information. When specific dates or date ranges were not available broader periods were recorded, such as Hallstatt or La Tène, if available, or N/A if not. These data points were used in temporal comparisons.

Site Type

The site type refers to the kind of site in which the object was found. Mortuary contexts, ritual contexts (temples or other identifiable ritual sites, including votive deposits), settlement contexts were all present in the sample. Any site types that did not fit into these categories were recorded as "Other," and more details regarding the find context were recorded. If the site type was not available, then N/A was recorded.

Material

The type of material of which the object was made was recorded with multiple categories in mind. Iron, bronze, gold, silver, stone, and wood were all represented in the study sample. This allowed a comparative analysis of the materials available and/or favored in particular regions or time periods for the production of anthropomorphic images. The study is dominated by material that has survived in the archaeological record, which means that most objects are made of stone or metal. The conclusions drawn from the preserved evidence must be discussed with reference to the organic materials, especially wood, that are missing.

Dimensions

Dimensions of the artifacts (height, length, width, and circumference as applicable) were also recorded when possible to enable a more detailed understanding of the size range of anthropomorphic images in Iron Age Europe not part of other objects (i.e. ornamental elements on weapons, personal ornament or feasting equipment). The available information is often incomplete or inconsistent as articles or books do not always provide exact dimensions of objects, and travel to measure and record the objects in person was not possible.

Primary/Secondary Sexual Characteristics

The terms male/masculine and female/feminine will appear often throughout this study, thus it is important to note the biological and social differentiation implied by these terms. Certain features on iconography depict biologically distinguishable features that can be subdivided into primary and secondary sex characteristics (Table 2.4). Male sex characteristics include the depiction of a visible penis (primary) or facial hair (secondary). Female sex characteristics include the appearance of a vulva (primary) or visible breasts (secondary).

Masculine/feminine gender (as distinct from sex) markers include hair length/style, which are context dependent. This is because traditional interpretations emphasize the association between long hair and women and short hair and men and while some Classical sources (Diodorus Siculus and Caesar) and iconography support this association, there are exceptions and nuances that make the hair category context dependent. Examples of these exceptions are slaves, which in the Iron Age have short hair (Mata 2019: 32).

Because the terms masculine and feminine are culturally specific gender concepts they are mainly accessible through the presence (in mortuary contexts) or depiction (in iconography) of adornments and other material objects (Table 2.4). Gender associations are described in more detail later in this section, but it is important to note that when the terms masculine or feminine are used, they refer to gender ideology expressed via the social norms or customs constraining the creator of the image. Table 2.4. Gender Markers

Gender Marker	**Provisional Gender**
Sword	Masculine
Armor	Masculine
Single Arm Ring	Masculine
Paired Arm Ring	Feminine
Hair Ring/ Earing	Feminine
Necklace	Feminine
Belt	Neutral
Jewelry (Asymmetrical)	Masculine
Jewelry (Symmetrical)	Feminine

Presence/Absence of Limbs/Head

To get a better understanding of the artifact's completeness, the presence of post-cranial elements such as a torso or limbs was recorded. This was an important feature because the presence of post-cranial elements determined whether adornments or other gender-related objects such as weapons, armor, or symmetrical/asymmetrical jewelry might be depicted. Limb positions were recorded using the scheme developed by Armit and Grant (2007). These were broken down into three sub-categories for the arms: crossed (crossing the torso in some manner), parallel (either down at the sides or on the lap if seated, but never crossing the torso), or akimbo (placed on the hips with elbows facing out). Armit and Grant (2007) suggest that the positions of the arms or limbs in sculptural representations as well as in some burials might have had symbolic significance and are therefore worthy of study (Armit and Grant 2007: 416). The presence or absence of a head was also noted because important features related to gender identification are associated with this part of the body in Iron Age Europe, including head hair and facial hair.

Presence/Absence of Facial Hair

Facial hair was further broken down into the following categories: beard alone, moustache alone, or beard and moustache in combination. This allowed for the analysis of different facial hair combinations in association with other gendered features. Facial hair is related to an additionally recorded feature, the presence or absence of primary or secondary sex characteristics, such as breasts, penis, or vulva. These are used in sexing figures and the inclusion of primary or secondary sex characteristics can be used to engender associated personal ornaments or objects worn on the body. Head hair was subdivided into short (up to or just past the ears), long (past the ears or in long braids/other hairstyles), or partial tonsure (bald on the top with hair around the head) (Table 2.5).

Table 2.5. Sex Markers

Sex Marker	**Provisional Sex**
Facial Hair	Male
Short Hair	Context dependent
Long Hair	Context dependent
Sex Characteristic (Penis)	Male
Sex Characteristic (Breast/Vulva)	Female

Adornments/Weapons

Adornments were further subdivided into categories such as torcs, other ring ornaments, or weapons. Torcs are considered a status symbol associated with paramount elites in Iron Age Europe (Arnold 2011: 157-158) and, when present, allow the social rank of the anthropomorphic image depicted to be determined. Weapons also have rank associations (Rebay-Salisbury 2016: 82) during certain periods of the Iron Age. Swords were especially significant markers of rank. The weapon variable was further subdivided into sword, spear, dagger, axe, bow, and arrow. For determining the difference between weapons such as swords and daggers, typically length (with sword being longer than a dagger) would be the deciding factor (Figure 2.1). Unfortunately, as measuring the statues in person was not an option, proportion sizes were used (how long was the weapon relative to the rest of the statue). This coupled with previous research of blades found in the mortuary record helped determine sword from dagger.

Figure 2.1. Comparison of sword and dagger in iconography and mortuary records.

Other adornments included jewelry and armor. Armor was subdivided into the following categories: cuirass, helmet, greaves, and shield. These elements are seen in various depictions and present aspects of certain archetypes, including “warrior” and possibly masculine gender. The jewelry and other adornments were broken down into six variables. The first was head covering. This could be a veil, hat, or anything that was not considered a helmet. Determining a helmet vs. some other type of head covering was based on research and other scholarly interpretations (Arnold 2016: 846; Rebay-Salisbury 2016: 76; Reeves 2015).

The ring ornament category was subdivided into arm rings, further categorized as either a single bracelet, paired bracelets, or a single upper arm ring. This is because the position of arm rings has a gendered context based on the symmetry of bracelets and whether they are worn on the wrists or above the elbow as a bicep ring (Arnold and Hagmann 2010: 1). The same symmetrical/asymmetrical distinction is assumed for other rings, such as finger and hair rings,

which were categorized as single or multiple. However, hair rings have a more distinct female-gendered association as hair rings and earrings typically appear in biologically female graves when the skeletal remains can be sexed (Arnold 2016: 846; Rebay-Salisbury 2016: 76).

The last two adornment categories were belts and necklaces. The distinction between necklaces vs. torcs/neck rings is based on the style of the ornament. Belt plates, belt rings, and belt hooks are found in both male and female burial contexts and iconographic representations, but some temporal and geographic differences exist. Including them as a variable helps relate the native iconography to modern scholastic interpretations and allows for new interpretations to be made.

Another variable not directly related to the gender or sex of the anthropomorphic representations is equally important. Animal figures are occasionally carved into the human figures and can, in some cases, be used to interpret these. Representations of deities are often depicted with animals, which means the presence of an animal might provide a clearer understanding of what the figure is supposed to represent (Counts and Arnold 2010; Cunliffe 2018: 241; Green 1989: 131).

Research Questions

The project was designed to investigate the following research questions:

1) What conventions were used in Iron Age human representations to signal gender and status?

2) What conventions were used to represent primary and secondary sexual characteristics in whole body imagery?

3) How variable are representations of facial hair in representations of human heads?

4) Do representations of female vs. male figures vary in frequency and/or presence in different regions of Iron Age Europe, and are changes noticeable through time?

5) How common are gender-neutral or ambiguous anthropomorphic representations, and do they share contextual, material, or temporal characteristics?

6) Is there a correlation between the date, material, scale, and context of an image and the likelihood that it will be identifiably gendered?

7) To what extent can we see evidence for trans-Alpine influences before the Roman conquest in anthropomorphic imagery?

The first and second questions were addressed by comparing the variables related to gender and status. Variables such as sex characteristics, the presence of torcs, ring ornament, and weapons are primary indicators of gender and status in graves and will be compared to this material evidence category. The third question used primary and secondary sex characteristics to determine how often Iron Age people represented sex characteristics vs. what would be considered gendered characteristics and if there is a link between the two. The fourth question was addressed by the facial hair variable compared to sexual as well as gender features. Facial hair in modern times is seen as a male/masculine trait or feature, and how that compares with representations of males of the Iron Age was examined. The fifth question compared the sex and gender variables while the geographic and temporal variables were used to identify patterns that could lead to future typologies. The sixth question was addressed by comparing all of the variables with an emphasis on the presence or absence of sex characteristics or items considered to be gendered in previous studies, such as weapons or head ornament. This defined the gender-neutral category, allowing further comparisons to be made between these anthropomorphic

images. The seventh question was addressed using the same variables as question six, emphasizing the location and date variables to compare the geographic and temporal data. The eighth question was addressed by examining how each region's trade network could have facilitated exchange with pre-Roman Italian peninsular groups such as the Etruscans. This was dependent on the location variable and prior research in those locations. Areas like Iberia are also known to have traded with multiple Mediterranean groups (Cunliffe 2018: 74-76), and there were documented instances of Iron Age people raiding locations south of the Alps, including early Rome and Delphi (Cunliffe 2018: 6).

This project's main limitation was that physically examining the figurines and sculptures was not possible, so recording variables depended on the images illustrated in secondary sources. This was a problem because not every relevant object has been published and the available images may not be representative either temporally or geographically of what has been recovered. However, the dataset does represent a geographically and temporally broad spectrum of images, making it possible to generate tentative interpretations and suggest directions for further research. This chapter presents the methods, variables, and limitations of the study. The next chapter discusses the results and interpretations of the qualitative comparisons of the selected images.

Chapter 3. Analysis and Discussion

Seventy-eight anthropomorphic statues or figures were included in the study and 56 (72%) of these displayed gendered or sexable elements. The absence of gendered or sexable elements in some cases was due to preservation issues, as many of the figures exhibited weathering that obscured features such as heads or post-cranial elements that make an engendered analysis possible. The first half of this chapter will be devoted to presenting the data recorded for each variable with initial observations. The second half of this chapter will revisit the eight research questions and discuss the implications for the interpretation of the material.

Analysis

Context

This section presents the results of a comparison of the variables Region, Date Range, and Site Type. The variables Name and Location were not included in this comparison but are included in Appendices A and B. Of the eight regions included in this study (Table 3.1), France contained 32 (42%) examples, the most of any region, followed by Spain and Germany.

Table 3.1. Figural Representations by Region

Region	**Number**
France	33 (42%)
Spain	14 (18%)
Germany	11 (14%)
Portugal	8 (10%)
Italy	5 (6%)
Croatia	2 (3%)
Czech Republic	2 (3%)
Switzerland	2 (3%)
Slovenia	1 (1%)
Grand Total	**78**

The La Tène period yielded the most examples with 57 (73%) while only 10 (13%) of the sample dates to the Hallstatt period. Eleven figures (14%) did not have date ranges available. The site types were more uniform, with settlements representing the most common locations at 19 (24%), followed by ritual contexts 18 (23%), Other at 14 (18%), and burials at 14 (18%). Thirteen (17%) images came from contexts that were unidentifiable. The "Other" find context typically refers to isolated finds in ditches or pits, whereas unidentifiable or N/A means information about the find context was not available.

The overall summary for context indicates that more examples of anthropomorphic statues and figures are found in the La Tène period in settlements and ritual contexts in France and Spain. This was not unexpected as the La Tène period saw an artistic shift that included an increase in anthropomorphic representations, often at ritual sites or within settlements (Green 1989: 3; Harding 2007: 47, 54; Megaw 1989: 56). The fact that France has the most ritual contexts is also expected given the numerous excavations of Gallic sanctuary sites in the La Tène period, many of which produced figural representations (Table 3.2). When the figures from Spain and Portugal are combined under the regional heading Iberia, the number of settlement contexts with anthropomorphic imagery equals the number from ritual contexts in Gaul. This is worth investigating further to see whether there was a particular setting in the Iberian settlement contexts that was equivalent to the more narrowly designated Gallic ritual contexts.

Material

The material category was broken down into stone, metal (which included iron, bronze, or other alloys), and wood. Stone was the most common at 60 (77%), followed by metal at 13 (17%), and wood at 5 (6%) (Table 3.3). This was not unexpected as stone preserves the best, and so does metal. Wood was mostly from the Source-de-la-Seine ritual site in France (Table 3.4).

Table 3.2. Site Type by Region

Country/Region	Site Type					
	N/A	Burial	Other	Ritual Context	Settlement	Total
France	2	2	13	16		33 (42%)
Spain	4	1		1	8	14 (18%)
Germany	3	8				11 (14%)
Portugal	1				7	8 (10%)
Italy		3		1	1	5 (6%)
Croatia	2					2 (3%)
Czech Republic			1		1	2 (3%)
Switzerland					2	2 (3%)
Slovenia	1					1 (1%)
Grand Total	**13 (17%)**	**14 (18%)**	**14 (18%)**	**18 (23%)**	**19 (24%)**	**78**

While the type of stone was not included in the comparative analysis, limestone and sandstone were the most commonly observed choice of material while bronze was exclusively chosen for the metal type. Bronze makes sense for statues as they can be polished easily and the alloy is more malleable than iron, making it effective in displaying fine details like hair or eyes.

Table 3.3. Material

Material	Number
Stone	60 (77%)
Bronze	13 (17%)
Wood	5 (6%)
Grand Total	**78**

Post-Cranial Elements and Position of limbs

Forty-five (58%) instances of torsos and limbs were found as opposed to 25 (32%) instances where no post-cranial elements were discovered, followed by seven instances (9%) of torsos and one (1%) example of a solitary arm from a pillar in Germany (Table 3.5). Limbs typically include arms as the lower half of the body was not as commonly observed, but there

Table 3.4. Breakdown of Wood Images by Region

Region	**Location**	**Number**
France	Source-de-la-Seine	3 (60%)
	Source-de-la-Roche	1 (20%)
Switzerland	Yverdon-les-Bains	1 (20%)
Grand Total		5 (6% of Total Materials)

are instances of legs and feet. Combining the torso and limbs category with the torso category reflects the number of anthropomorphic representations. Fifty-two (67%) counts of instances where the creators displayed full-bodied humans or divine figures.

Table 3.5. Post-Cranial Elements

Post-Cranial Elements	**Number**
Torso and Limbs	45 (58%)
Absent	25 (32%)
Torso	7 (9%)
Limbs	1 (1%)
Grand Total	**78**

Limbs, specifically arms, were present 37 (47%) times, most often parallel to the body. Only nine counts (12%) of crossed arms were observed, and there were 32 (41%) instances where no arms were present (Figure 3.6). It has been suggested that the crossed arm position was associated with death (Armit and Grant 2008: 421; Augstein 2009: 16-18). This could mean that the parallel position was associated with living entities; either the figure being depicted was literally still alive or was honored as a venerated ancestor comparable to Catholic Saints. Without written sources, it is difficult to interpret the meaning behind the positioning of the limbs but this study has revealed that it does not seem to correlate in any meaningful way with gender.

Table 3.6. Position of Limbs

Position of Limbs	**Number**
Parallel	37 (47%)
N/A	32 (41%)
Crossed	9 (12%)
Grand Total	**78**

Heads, Hair, and Facial Hair

Out of the 78 total examples, 63 (80%) of the statues had heads. Fifteen (19%) were missing heads due to intentional or accidental damage during burial or looting. Facial hair was scarce, with only 11 (17% of 63) examples. However, when facial hair was present, a beard combined with a moustache was the most common with 8 (13% of 63) instances. There were two instances of only beards and one instance of moustache only. The remaining 67 images had no recognizable facial hair either due to weathering of detail or paint or by intent. Fifty-two (67%) statues had heads but no facial hair. There could be a variety of reasons that facial hair was not depicted. The individuals represented may not have had facial hair, the facial hair might have

been removed in death, the depicted individual may have been pre-pubescent or the individual may have been female (Arnold 2016: 847). The 11 examples of facial hair can be coded male, if not masculine. Regarding hairstyles, 9 (12%) were long (past the ears), 16 (21%) were short (above or at the ears), and 53 (68%) did not depict hair in a recognizable way. Facial hair only appeared with short hair statues with seven (9%) instances.

Torcs

Torcs served as status symbols for paramount Iron Age elites as well as supernatural beings (Figure 3.1) (Arnold 2011: 157-158). The presence of a torc in a representation could mean that the figure represented was royal, had paramount status, or was a supernatural figure. Only 19 (24%) torcs were present on the 78 statues and figurines, a relatively small percentage. This means that not all those depicted were necessarily being marked as elites but it could also mean that divine figures were not depicted in the same way as actual humans.

Figure 3.1. 4th century BCE torc from Gaul

Weapons and Armor

Weapons included swords, daggers, axes, bows, arrows, or spears, whereas armor consisted of shields, cuirasses, greaves, or helmets. Weapons are associated with rank in Iron Age Europe, especially swords, but armor is typically divided along gender lines due to the

problematic masculine warrior interpretation (Rebay-Salisbury 2016: 82). However, weapons and armor are rare in the dataset, with only eight instances of weapons (Table 3.7) and 16 of armor (Table 3.8).

Table 3.7. Weapons

Weapons	**Number**
Absent	70 (90%)
Sword	4 (5%)
Dagger	3 (4%)
Spear	1 (1%)
Grand Total	**78**

Table 3.8 Armor

Armor	**Number**
Absent	60 (77%)
Cuirass	10 (13%)
Shield	10 (13%)
Helmet	5 (6%)

Swords and daggers are the most common weapons, which was expected as they served as status symbols and represent an easy visual cue for onlookers that the individual depicted was of a certain status. Cuirasses or body/chest armor was the most common type in that category and was often accompanied by a shield, signaling a martial aspect.

Animal Representations

Animals often have ritual associations in so-called traditional societies; in Iron Age Europe sculptural representations include birds, boars, wolves, and mythical creatures (Frie

2017: 10-13). There was only one clear instance of an animal depiction in the sample (the Dama de Baza might be holding a bird, though the carving is too worn to tell), a carving of a boar on the chest, possibly holding the boar, of the anthropomorphic figure from Euffigneix, which was wearing a torc, had long hair and a carving of an eye on one side of the torso (Figure 3.2). Facial hair may have been present but the lower half of the face appears to have been defaced so this cannot be confirmed. The rest of the statue is broken and additional details cannot be discerned.

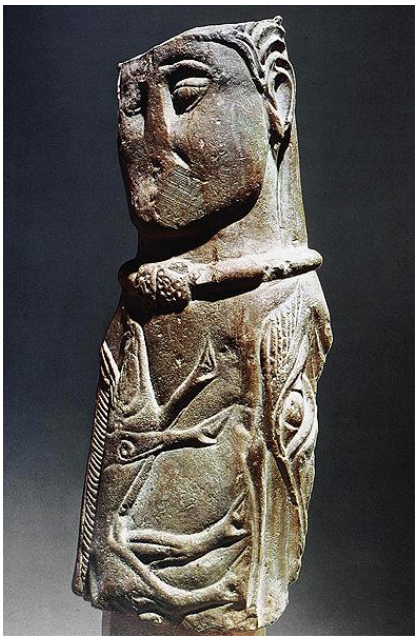

Figure 3.2. Euffigneix

Head Covering

Head coverings are seen in various images, and head coverings like the conical hat of the Hirschlanden figure (Appendix A.2) or veils like the one worn by the Dama de Baza (Figure 3.3) represent gendered costume elements. There are only 16 (21%) instances of head coverings in the sample and an even smaller number of these are helmets (Table 3.9). Hats are the most common head covering in the sample analyzed for this study and are associated more often with male or masculine figures such as the Glauberg, Hirschlanden, or Capestrano examples (Table

3.10). This contrasts with mortuary contexts in which veils and headdresses are found mainly in female burials (Table 3.11). While veils are seen on their own, headdresses are always accompanied by veils. Additionally, veils and headdresses are seen on exclusively female representations such as the Dama statues from Iberia. This contrast between headwear supports the engendering of this variable and other statues with these elements and may provide insight into what Iron Age men and women (albeit mainly elites) might have worn.

Figure 3.3. Dama de Baza

Table 3.9. Head Coverings

Head Coverings	**Number**
Absent	62 (79%)
Hat	11 (14%)
Veil and headdress	3 (4%)
Veil	2 (3%)
Grand Total	**78**

Table 3.10 Hats

Context/Region	Total
Germany	7 (64%)
France	1 (9%)
Portugal	1 (9%)
Italy	1 (9%)
Slovenia	1 (9%)
Grand Total	**11**

Table 3.11. Veils and Headdresses

Context (Region, Location, and Name)	Veil and Headdress	Veil	Total
Spain			**3 (60%)**
Granada			
Dama de Baza	1		
Guardamar del Segura, Alicante			
La Dama de Cabezo Lucero	1		
La Alcudia, Elche			
Dama de Elche	1		
France			**2 (40%)**
Source de la Seine, Burgundy			
Pilgrim Figure		1	
Source-de-la-Roche			
Carving of a Woman		1	
Grand Total	**3 (60%)**	**2 (40%)**	**5**

Arm, Finger, and Hair/Earrings

Ring ornament is an important category of gender marking in many traditional societies (Sofaer 2000) and they appear in Iron Age mortuary contexts across the age and gender spectrum as one of the most common grave good categories (Arnold 2016). By contrast, this study has

been able to demonstrate that rings were rarely depicted in sculptural representations of Iron Age human figures (Table 3.12). Arm rings are the most common ring feature, while hair rings and earrings are mainly found in female burials, represented in this study only by the Dama statues in Spain. Finger rings are few; single rings, which are considered a masculine attribute, are found on the Glauberg and Capestrano (Figure 3.4) statues, whereas multiple finger rings are found on the hands of the Dama de Baza (Appendix A.11).

Table 3.12. Rings

Ring Type	**Number Present**
Arm	18 (23%)
Finger	3 (4%)
Hair Ring/Earing	3 (4%)

Figure 3.4. Limestone figure from Capestrano

Arm rings are more complicated than the previous two ring types. Single arm rings are generally more common on male statues (Table 3.13) but the placement of the bracelet may be either on the wrist or the upper arm.

Table 3.13. Arm Rings.

Region	Single-upper arm	Paired bracelets	Paired-upper arm	Single bracelet	Total
France	5	1			6 (33%)
Portugal	4		1		5 28%)
Spain	1	2			3 (17%)
Czech Republic	1				1 (6%)
Germany	1				1 (6%)
Italy			1		1 (6%)
Slovenia				1	1 (6%)
Grand Total	**12 (67%)**	**3 (17%)**	**2 (11%)**	**1 (6%)**	**18**

There are five examples of paired arm rings/bracelets in sculptural representations, and none of them can be connected to any primary sex characteristics. Only the "warrior statue" from Portugal also has a secondary sex characteristic in the form of facial hair.

While there are several reasons, including preservation and sample size, that could account for the rarity of paired arm rings, multiple, symmetrically worn arm rings may be less of a gendered aspect and more of a status marker. Two of the statues have weapons and an additional seven statues have single arm rings. The Dama de Baza is considered a paramount elite (Galán 2007: 180; Sanz 2007: 164), and it could be that arm rings, especially of gold, were similar to torcs in signaling elite status. Exploring this further would require its own research project.

Necklaces

Representations of necklaces are rare in the study sample and are outnumbered by torcs; only the statue from Capestrano has both a torc and necklace, although the latter may actually be a baldric or a *kardiophylax*. Only six (8%) necklaces were present, four of which come from the Dama statues, and one from Rottenberg in Germany, also the most schematic and least representational of the images (Appendix A.7). Due to the small number of necklaces, it is difficult to make assertions about their importance, though some necklaces such as the ones on the Dama de Baza certainly exhibit a size and ostentatious nature that implies importance. It is possible that necklaces were less important than torcs as a visual cue for status. However, because they appear primarily on apparently female statues, there appears to be a link between necklaces and femininity.

Belts

Belts are not common in this sample, with only 16 (21%) examples, a major disconnect between the iconographic and mortuary gender marking patterns (Table 3.14). High status elite women in both the Hallstatt and La Tène periods appear to have worn belts whose metal fixtures have survived in the form of staple-decorated belts with sheet bronze belt plates (Hallstatt) and belt chains (La Tène). High status elite men also wore belts in the Hallstatt period but by the La Tène period they are much less common in the mortuary record (Arnold 2016). Recent analyses suggest we may be missing an organic category of dress in the case of male burials; this is corroborated by the iconography. No belts were found on sculptural representations with primary or secondary female sex characteristics but three statues with belts had facial hair and trappings that led to their identification as "warriors" by previous researchers, while one had a belt and visible penis (the Hirschlanden statue). What this means is that the iconography indicates that

belts may have been more common than the mortuary record especially for male burials suggests. It is evident that belts were being worn by men, some likely made of organic material (such as leather, hide, or textile) that generally does not preserve in the mortuary record. Evidence for such belts has been found recently in the early La Tène burials of Lavau in Burgundy (Dubuis 2017) and Speckhau Tumulus 17 Grave 1 and Tumulus 18 Grave 4 (Arnold 2016, 2020). Eight (50%) of the 16 statues with belts have been interpreted as "warriors" and are described that way in the literature (four of which have male sex characteristics); only one of them is in the burial of a woman whose remains have been sexed, the Dama de Baza (Table 3.14).

Table 3.14. Belts

Context (Region, Location, and Name)	**Number**	**Total**
France		**4 (25%)**
Entremont, Aix-en-Provence		
Entremont Warrior	1	
Grezan, Gard		
Warrior Statue	1	
Neuvy-en-Sullias		
Bronze Dancer	1	
Saint- Maur-en-Chaussee, Picardy		
Bronze Warrior Figure	1	
Portugal		**4 (25%)**
Castro Di Lezenho, Vila Real		
Warrior Statue	2	
Citânia de São Julião, Braga		
Warrior Statue	1	
Santa Comba hillfort, Refojos de Basto, Vila Real		
Warrior Statue	1	
Germany		**3 (19%)**
Holzgerlingen, Boblingen		
Statue of a God	2	

Stuttgart		
Hirschlanden Figure	1	
Italy		**3 (19%)**
Capestrano		
Warrior Statue	1	
Casale Marittimo, Pisa		
Necropolis Figure A	1	
Necropolis Figure B	1	
Slovenia		**1 (16%)**
Idrija pri Baci		
Man with Hat	1	
Spain		**1 (16%)**
Granada		
Dama de Baza	1	
Grand Total	**16**	**16**

Belts are also found more often with single arm rings (five instances) than paired bracelets or rings (four instances), which is consistent with the prevalence of single arm rings in male burials (Arnold 2020).

Sex Characteristics

Sex characteristics are rarely depicted in the sample, with only 12 (15%) instances of primary sex characteristics (i.e. a penis or a vulva) and 18 (23%) of secondary sex characteristics represented in the images analyzed here (Tables 3.15 and 3.16). Six penises and six vulvae are visibly depicted in human images in this dataset. Eleven (14%) facial hair representations and seven (9%) representations of breasts are also present. While an in-depth analysis of the context and appearance of sex characteristics will be discussed later, a few basic patterns can be discussed here. First, only one instance of pairings between penises and facial hair occurs while there are five instances of breasts with vulvae, all from the Bronze Dancer collections (Appendix A. 35) from La Tène period France. This is likely because the Bronze Dancers are a collection of

nude figures interpreted as dancers, musicians, or participants in a Bacchanal or equivalent fertility ritual that required nudity (Müller 2009: 248).

Table 3.15. Primary and Secondary Sex Characteristics

Context	Breasts	Facial hair	Total
France			**6**
Neuvy-en-Sullias			
Penis		1	
Vulva	5		
Grand Total	**5 (83%)**	**1 (17%)**	**6**

There are other independent occurrences of primary sex characteristics, such as the Hirschlanden figure and a female figure from Portugal (Figure 3.5), but the greatest concentration of primary sex characteristics is found in the Bronze Dancers collection from Neuvy in Gaul (Table 3.16).

Figure 3.5. Female statue from Sendim

Table 3.16. Primary Sex Characteristics

Context (Region, Location, and Name)	Penis	Vulva	Total
France			**9 (75%)**
Glanum/St Rémy de Provence, Dép. Bouches-du-Rhône			
Crouching Warrior	1		
Neuvy-en-Sullias			
Bronze Dancer	3	5	
Czech Republic			**1 (8%)**
Stradonice, Bohemia			
Statuette of Man with Instrument	1		
Germany			**1 (8%)**
Stuttgart			
Hirschlanden Figure	1		
Portugal			**1 (8%)**
Sendim hillfort, Porto			
Female Figure		1	1
Grand Total	**6 (50%)**	**6 (50%)**	**12**

As in the case of the primary sex characteristics, the main concentration of female figures with secondary sex characteristics is in Gaul and Iberia. The Bronze Dancers collection from Neuvy-en-Sullias in France accounts for five instances of breasts and there is one statue each from Portugal and Spain. This contrasts with facial hair, which is more widely distributed, with the highest concentration in France, with three instances of facial hair, and more isolated examples from Germany, the Czech Republic, Spain, and Portugal (Table 3.17).

Table 3.17. Secondary Sex Characteristics

Context (Region, Location, and Name)	Breasts	Facial hair	Total
France			**8 (44%)**
Neuvy-en-Sullias			
Bronze Dancer	5	1	
Saint- Maur-en-Chaussee, Picardy			
Bronze Warrior Figure		1	
Source de la Seine, Burgundy			
Pilgrim Figure		1	
Germany			**3 (17%)**
Hesse			
Glauberg Head		1	
Glauberg Statue		1	
Pfalzfeld, Rheinland-Pfalz			
Carved Stone Pillar		1	
Portugal			**3 (17%)**
Castro Di Lezenho, Vila Real			
Warrior Statue		2	
Oppidum of Briteiros, Braga			
Seated Figure	1		
Spain			**2 (11%)**
Seixabre (Pontevedra, Galicia)			
Bust	1	1	
Croatia			**1 (6%)**
Nesactium, Istria			
Stone Head		1	
Czech Republic			**1 (6%)**
Mšecké Žehrovice, Bohemia			

Carved Head		1	
Grand Total	**7 (39%)**	**11 (61%)**	**18**

Some of these patterns will be further discussed in Chapter 4, but it appears that male figures are more widespread than female figures, which appear to be concentrated in Iberia and Gaul. This could be skewed by the dataset, which contains more male/masculine figures than female/feminine ones. Preservation bias is also a possibility, if female figures tended to be more frequently carved in perishable materials such as wood, for example.

The Gundestrup Cauldron

The Gundestrup Cauldron is a complex and intricately decorated silver cauldron dating to the late La Tène period (120-80 BCE) and recovered from a Danish bog with no evidence for context. The reason it is included in this study is to test the protocols developed for identifying gender, age and status in the data set recorded above. The cauldron panels depict numerous figures referred to as deities (Kruta 2015: 168; Müller 2009: 137) that follow a set and recognizable pattern, and the art style is distinctly Gallic, which makes it an effective comparison for much of the dataset (Müller 2009: 137). Twelve anthropomorphic images were analyzed using the protocols laid out above. Seven of them come from the outer panels, four from scenes within the inner panels, and the last one is the figure of Cernunnos from the inner panels, an example of a seated and hybridized human/animal figure. The images analyzed are from Müller (2009) and can be found in Appendix A.50.

Seven outer panels (the eighth, which was probably “female”, is missing) represent alternating figures with visible secondary sex characteristics that appear to follow a male/female pattern with either facial hair (four figures) or “breasts” (three figures) (Müller 2009: 136-137).

Short hair or tonsure hairstyles correlates with facial hair and long hair in a pigtail style with breasts and no facial hair (Tables 3.18 and 3.19).

Table 3.18. Comparison of Secondary Sex Characteristics and Hair Styles on the Gundestrup Cauldron

Secondary Sex Characteristics	**Long Hair**	**Short Hair**	**Tonsure**	**Total**
Facial Hair		2	5	7 (58%)
Breasts	4			4 (33%)
None		1		1(8%)
Grand Total	**4 (33%)**	**3 (25%)**	**5 (42%)**	**12**

Table 3.19. Comparison of Facial Hair and Hair Styles on the Gundestrup Cauldron

	Hair Style			
Facial hair	**Long Hair**	**Short Hair**	**Tonsure**	**Total**
None	4	1		5 (42%)
Beard/Moustache		1	4	5 (42%)
Beard		1	1	2 (17%)
Grand Total	**4 (33%)**	**3 (25%)**	**5 (42%)**	**12**

Torcs are worn by all figures except one, suggesting that they served to mark status rather than gender or age. The one exception depicts a male figure with a long beard that covers his neck and thus no torc is depicted. It is possible that a torc would still be associated with the figure, but the area it would be displayed is obscured. There are no examples of rings of any kind, weapons, armor, or additional adornments such as necklaces or belts, except for the Cernunnos figure, which wears a belt. It is the only figure where the whole body is shown, however, so this distinction does not appear useful as a way of distinguishing between gender, age or status in the case of this artifact.

While the lack of adornments or other elements makes it difficult to compare to the other figures analyzed in this study, the Gundestrup cauldron figures do reflect a few of the previous

findings as well as providing an interpretation for certain patterns. Representations of facial hair on the Gundestrup cauldron primarily consist of a beard and moustache combo combined with short hair; long hair in the female representations is also consistent with some of the patterns already observed in the study sample.

The figures on the Gundestrup cauldron have been interpreted as divine figures by scholars (Kruta 2015: 168; Müller 2009: 137). There is little information about the production or deposition of the cauldron in an area of Europe where the Celtic pantheon is not attested, so it is difficult to know how representative it is. The frequent appearance of torcs reflects the ubiquity of this object as a status symbol as opposed to other items of adornment that are more regionally diverse. The animals accompanying the human figures may serve to bridge the natural and the divine worlds or the divine within the natural world. It could be that representing the divine with only a torc and secondary sex characteristics provided the viewer with sufficient clues about what was being represented. Only one image matches the description from the primary dataset, and that is a statue from the Czech Republic with facial hair and a torc dating to the late La Tène period. The Euffigneix statue from France has a torc, long hair, and a boar engraved on its side; it dates to around the same time as both the cauldron and the Czech statue.

The numerous statues with fewer adornments that do not all have torcs may represent another idea entirely, that of the venerated or ascended ancestor. This would be a person who after death was seen as being able to provide aid to the living in exchange for offerings; they might be depicted as they appeared in life, similar to a Greek hero or Catholic saint. This is not to say all the remaining statues represent this type of figure, but it adds another possibility to the deity concept suggesting ancestor worship as the focus of artistic expression in the form of anthropomorphic images.

Chapter 4. Interpretations and Conclusions

In the following sections, each of the research questions will be reexamined in light of the patterns noted in Chapter 3. When applicable, comparisons to the Gundestrup cauldron and the mortuary record will be provided. The significance of these findings for Iron Age studies and suggestions for further research will also be discussed.

What conventions were used in Iron Age human representations to signal gender?

Without written sources, it is difficult to engender the prehistoric archaeological record. Patterns that appear in multiple sources of evidence are one way of doing this; for example, some of the elements in mortuary contexts that appear to mark gender also appear in the iconographic representations. Working with the assumption that gender and biological sex as identified in skeletal material and in the presence of primary and secondary sexual characteristics in anthropomorphic imagery are related if not inextricably tied to one another, certain elements can be provisionally associated with gender in the sample analyzed in this study. Material culture elements found in both mortuary and iconographic contexts marking gender include weapons, rings, necklaces, belts, and head coverings. The relative prevalence of some of these elements is also comparable – for example, weapons are uncommon in burials as well as in anthropomorphic representations. Other elements, such as facial hair and head hair styles, can only be accessed through the iconographic representations but provide insight into possible appearance of individuals in life. Gender markers such as facial hair and head hair likely contribute to why males outnumber females in the iconography even though the reversed is true for the mortuary record (Arnold 2016: 832,841; Burmeister 2000: 550). In the sample analyzed here long hair appears more often with female traits (vulva and breasts), whereas short hair is more closely linked to male attributes (penis and facial hair), with few exceptions (Tables 4.1 and 4.2).

Table 4.1. Primary Sex Characteristics and Hair Styles

Primary Sex Characteristics	**Long**	**Short**	**Total**
Vulva	4	1	5 (62%)
Penis	1	2	3 (38%)
Grand Total	**5 (62%)**	**3 (38)**	**8**

Table 4.2. Secondary Sex Characteristics and Hair Styles

Secondary Sex Characteristics	**Long**	**Short**	**Total**
Facial Hair	0	7	7 (58%)
Breasts	4	1	5 (42%)
Grand Total	**4 (33%)**	**8 (67%)**	**12**

Head coverings infrequently appear associated with sex characteristics; male sex characteristics and hats appear together for a total of three examples (Table 4.3). No female sex characteristics (breasts or vulva) appear in sculptural representations with head covering. However, certain dress elements appear to be characteristic of female figures such as the Dama de Baza and other Dama statues suggesting a full covering of the body so that the legs are not distinguishable. Only male figures appear to have worn leggings or trousers; women's dress consisted of a skirt or peplos-like garment that extended to the ankles.

Table 4.3. Sex Characteristics and Head Coverings

Sex Characteristic	**Head Covering**	**Number**
Facial Hair	Hat	3 (75%)
Penis	Hat	1 (25%)
Total		4

Covering the body so that the legs are invisible to indicate female sex is seen in other iconographic traditions, notably in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica where skirts were added to young girls' clothing when they donned an adult wardrobe in order to transition them into womanhood (Joyce 1998: 153, 159; 2000: 479). Headless seated stone statues found at the foot of Mont Lassois that appear to be contemporary with the Vix burial include a likely male individual holding a shield and wearing armor and a likely female individual whose legs are covered by what looks like a skirt or ankle-length robe and who is wearing a torc similar to the ones recovered from the Vix and Lavau burials (Kruta 2015: 38; Dubuis and Millet 2017: 12).

Similarly, arm rings have been identified as marking gender based on whether they are worn symmetrically or asymmetrically but are only found with male elements in four examples that also display primary and secondary sex characteristics (Table 4.4). It appears significant that when paired arm rings are found in association with male sex characteristics they are always on the upper arm – this is consistent with patterns found in mortuary contexts with the exception of the recent Lavau burial (with one gold ring on each wrist and a single upper arm ring of jet on the left upper arm). This is a good example of how the position on the body may be more universally recognizable as a gender marker than the number or material of personal ornaments.

Table 4.4. Sex Characteristics and Arm Rings

Arm Ring Type	**Sex Characteristic**	**Number**
Single-Upper Arm	Penis and Facial Hair	4 (80%)
Paired-Upper Arm	Facial Hair	1 (20%)
Total		5

Statues identified as male based on physical characteristics conform to the mortuary pattern of single upper-arm rings in male graves when such ornament is present, with one exception from Portugal, which has a double upper-arm ring and facial hair. This statue still retains the male pattern of asymmetrical distribution of arm ring ornament, however. Finger rings, which only appear in three instances in the study sample, appear to be gendered when a single ring is present in both the mortuary and iconographic context, as in the case of the Glauberg burial and statue; in that case the association includes facial hair but no other sex-linked associations (Table 4.5). Hair/earrings and necklaces are not clearly correlated with sex in iconography although they are in burials. Belts are the last attribute with a sex-related link in four cases, three of which are facial hair, and one is a penis—all male-related connections.

Table 4.5. Sex Characteristics and Finger Rings

Sex Characteristic	**Single**	**Total**
Facial Hair	1	1
Grand Total	**1**	**1**

Weapons and armor were only found with male sex characteristics (Table 4.6). This could be explained by the low number of sex characteristics present in this study and that male secondary sex characteristics appear more often than female (Table 3.17). This should not be taken to assume there were no female warriors or that women were never buried with weapons, as the mortuary and historical record does not support this (i.e. the Dama de Baza or Boudica), but only that these males are represented with symbols of status or power that are likely linked to martial prowess (Arnold 2020: 205). There is a stronger claim that these are symbols of status or rank; three of the four weapons depicted in the sample are daggers while only one is a sword. Daggers do not make effective warriors' weapons due to their size, but as a status marker they are visible and often decorative (Figure 4.1) (Arnold 2020: 203). The argument could be made

that because the figures are coupled with weapons and armor that they represent warriors but it could equally be argued that they represent elite individuals who could afford arms and armor and may not have attained status through martial paths (Arnold 2020: 205-206).

Table 4.6. Sex Characteristics and Armor/Weapons

Sex Characteristic	**Armor**	**Weapon**	**Total**
Penis	0	1	1 (12%)
Facial Hair	4	3	7 (88%)
Grand Total	4	4	8

Figure 4.1. Gold-decorated bronze and iron dagger from Hochdorf burial.

What does this mean? There are weak patterns here that link gendered material culture to morphological sex characteristics, mostly in hairstyles and arm rings, but interpreting these apparent associations is more difficult. The total number of statues with primary and/or secondary sex characteristics is quite small, 24 statues out of a sample size of 78 (31%). Thus,

the number of comparisons that can be made based on a sex-related characteristic skews the data. However, certain correspondences are in line with current paradigms, such as single upper-arm rings being more common in figures exhibiting male morphological features.

Some of the objects that appear to convey gender in the mortuary record are also represented on iconographic representations where they occasionally are found in conjunction with primary or secondary sex characteristics (Table 4.7), but it is more likely that these associations are only secondarily communicating gender because of their primary connection with intersectional identities such as adult/male/warrior/elite. Belts frequently are represented on figures that have been interpreted as warriors (Appendix B.10), appearing six times with weapons and in 12 instances with armor (Table 4.8). The presence of a belt is gender-neutral in mortuary contexts (although the style may be gendered), which cannot be captured in this study. Men's belts are likely made from organic materials that would not survive in the mortuary record. The Speckhau Tumulus 17 Grave 1 burial which contained a belt hook as well as Tumulus 18 Grave 4 which contained a decorated leather or textile belt are good examples of organic belt materials in male burials that would not have been recognized until the recent application of CT-scan technology to en bloc excavation (Arnold 2012: 102-103, 106).

Table 4.7. Sex Characteristics and Belts

Sex Characteristic	**Number**
Facial Hair	3 (75%)
Penis	1 (25%)
Total	4

Table 4.8. Weapons and Armor Associated with Belts

Weapon/Armor Type	**Number**
Cuirass	6 (35%)
Shield	5 (29%)
Dagger	3 (18%)
Sword	3 (18%)
Total	17

We now return to the research questions:

1) **How common in human representations is the use of visual cues related to status and gender?**

Status markers include torcs, weapons, and armor, with less information derived from ring ornament, since material cannot be determined. Arm rings and finger rings in elite mortuary contexts with corresponding sculptural representations, like the Glauberg or Hochdorf, are made of gold and would obviously also have marked status and wealth, so this is another instance where the burial record can inform the iconographic interpretation. Torcs appear 19 (24%) times in the sample, while weapons and armor appear 31 (42%) times (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9. Status Markers

Weapon/ Armor	**Number**
Armor	25 (32% of 78)
Torcs	19 (24% of 78)
Weapons	8 (10 % of 78)

Total	52 (67% of 78)

Torcs appear less often than was anticipated, which could be due to a combination of sample size and preservation. Alternatively, not every statue might be depicting a figure of sufficiently elite status to warrant a torc, which makes sense in relation to the number of weapons and armor found. Torcs only appear 19 times in this study (Table 4.9). Torcs appear with only weapons one-time (5%) and only armor three (16%) instances. Torcs appear on statues with both weapons and armor four (21%) instances and collectively with either weapons and/or armor in eight (42%) instances. Torcs appear without weapons or armor 11 (58%) instances (Figure 4.2). It is possible that torcs marked only a certain elite role rather than elite status more generally as they appear more often without additional status markers such as armor or weapons than with those markers (Figure 4.3).

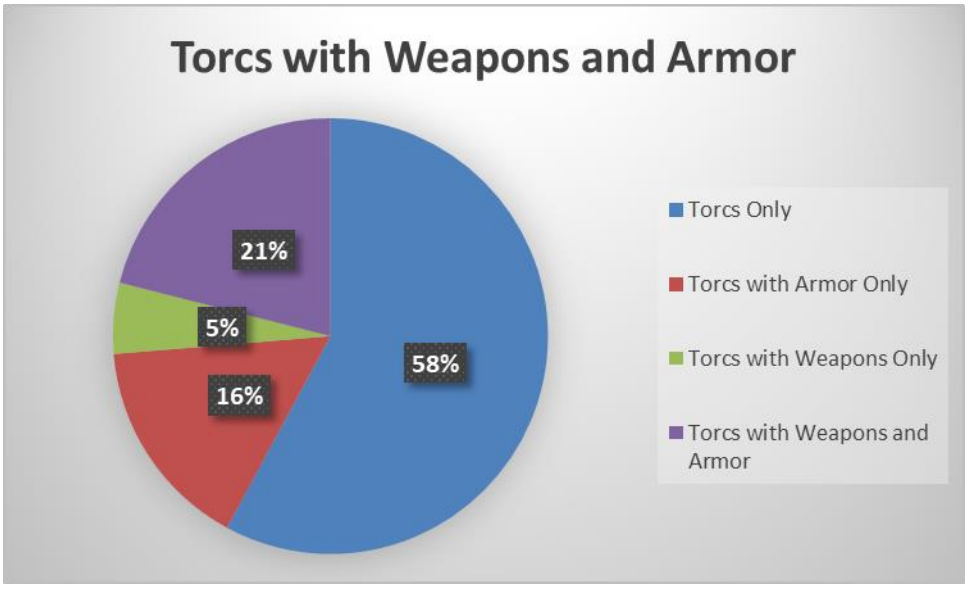

Figure 4.2. Torcs with weapons and armor.

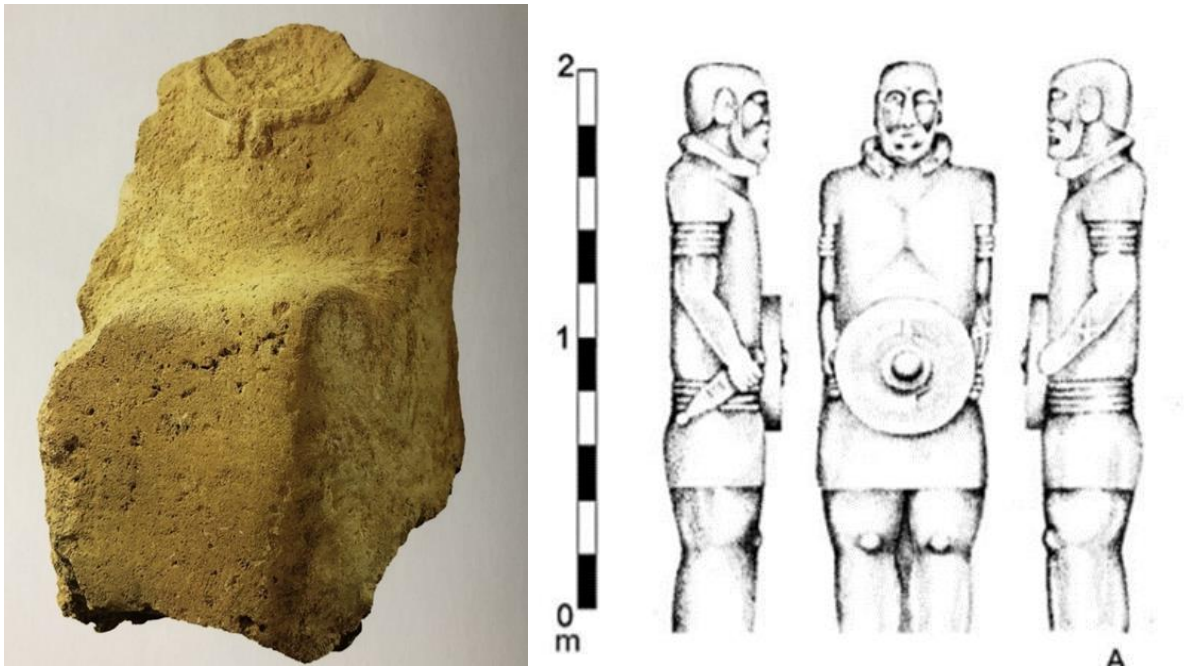

Figure 4.3. Torc with (Right) and without (Left) weapons and armor.

Only seven instances of armor also have torcs, five combinations of weapons and torcs, and only four statues have all three. This means that there are different kinds of elites represented in the statues, those who warrant torcs (likely paramount elites), those that could display weapons or armor (the ones that could afford it or had connections to acquire it), and those that were influential enough have statues of themselves made and were not associated with the statuses or roles related to torcs, weapons, or armor. Figures representing deities might also lack torcs if the source of their influence or power was not associated with this particular marker.

A contrasting, yet supporting example, is the Gundestrup cauldron. Only two of the seven deities in the outer panels appear to lack torcs and they are both male. However, they are also depicted with beards that extend past their necks and cover the area where a torc would rest. Seven of the ten (70%) plates in which the deities are the central figures (i.e. the outer plates, two interior plates and the Cernunnos plate) contain deities not only in similar positions but with torcs. None of the full body anthropomorphic images have torcs, suggesting their status is

somehow different. The lack of any other accompanying symbols such as arm rings, weapons, or other jewelry suggests that the torc is all the deity figures need to present status.

Weapons clearly held a different status than torcs on the Gundestrup cauldron as none of the deities or torc baring figures held a weapon or any distinguishable armor, however there are two scenes of non-divine figures using weapons and/or armor (Figure 4.4). This suggests that the power the outer figures have are more spiritual as they have no need for weapons but are given the most visible locations.

Figure 4.4. Weapons on the Gundestrup cauldron.

As for gendered objects, there are more categories, but relatively few objects in the sample. Hair and hair ornament, arm rings, and belts are the only categories with more than ten occurrences. Hair has the highest number of occurrences at 25 (32%) instances associated with nine long haired images (feminine) and 16 short haired images (masculine) (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10. Hair

Hair	**Number**
Short	16 (64%)
Long	9 (36%)
Grand Total	**25**

Arm rings occur in 18 (23%) instances (Table 4.11). The masculine gendered single upper-arm and single bracelet combined at 13 (72%) appears more frequently than the feminine gendered paired bracelets or upper-arm rings at five (27%) occurrences. Belts and head coverings are the next highest ornament category at 16 (21%) instances each, followed by necklaces at six instances (8%), and lastly, finger rings and hair/earrings, which are tied at three (4%) instances each (Table 4.12). Table 4.11. Arm Rings

Arm Rings	**Number**
Single-upper arm	12 (67%)
Paired bracelets	3 (17%)
Paired-upper arm	2 (11%)
Single bracelet	1 (6%)
Grand Total	**18**

Table 4.12. Gendered Objects (excluding arm rings)

Gendered Object	**Number**
Belt	16 (36%)

Head covering	16 (36%)
Necklaces	6 (14%)
Finger rings	3 (7%)
Hair rings	3 (7%)
Total	44

The combined total of gendered objects is 84, which seems like a lot, but many are found on the same statue or figurine. For example, the Glauberg statue depicts six gendered items, two status items, and one secondary sex characteristic: armor, a sword, a shield, a head covering, and a single upper arm ring and single finger ring, all of which are gendered male. Additionally, the sword as well as the torc are symbols of status and the goatee is a secondary sex characteristic. The Glauberg statue depicts items from the three major categories that marked identity in the burial record of Iron Age Europe discussed in this study (sex, gender, and status), but also demonstrates how certain pieces, such as the sword and torc, can represent more than one category on the same figure.

While the Glauberg statue is packed with signifiers, some figures exhibit no material culture markers related to gender identity, for example the Entremont heads or the schematic carved stele from Germany (Appendix A.25). These kinds of figures represent broken or intentionally incomplete human figures that only display a torso or more often a head, which limits the gendered markers they can display. Alternatively, there are some full body figures that have sex characteristics but no gendered markers such as the seated female statue from Portugal (Figure 4.5). Significantly, the only material marker of identity on the Briteiros figure is the torc, which

is clearly visible and presumably was intended to denote status and possibly role. In this study 18 figures displayed no gendered characteristics (Table 4.13).

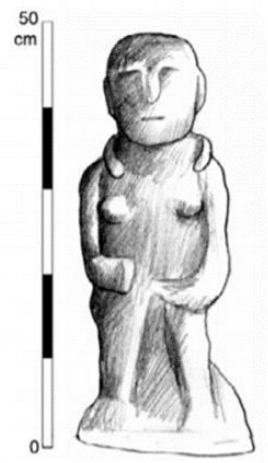

Figure. 4.5. Female statue from Briteiros.

Table 4.13. Contexts of Statues without Gender Markers

Context	**Number**
Spain	**8 (44%)**
Anllo (Ourense)-warrior bust	
Armeá (Ourense, Galicia)-severed head	
Barán (Lugo, Galicia)-severed head	
Monte Güimil (Pontevedra, Galicia)-severed head	
Seixabre (Pontevedra, Galicia)-bust	
France	**5 (28%)**
Entremont, Aix-en-Provence-Entremont head	
Roquepertuse, Velaux, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur-two-headed figure	
Vix, Burgundy-seated lady	
Germany	**3 (17%)**
Baden-Württemberg-Brandgrubengrab	
Calw-Stammheim, Baden-Württemberg-stone statue	
Waldenbuch-Steinenbronn, Baden-Württemberg-carved pillar	
Portugal	**2 (11%)**
Oppidum of Briteiros, Braga-seated figure	
Sendim hillfort, Porto-female figure	
Grand Total	**18**

As discussed further below, the 84 gendered elements are distributed across 56 statues and figurines. While each statue may only be associated with a few engendered objects, this study has shown that engendered elements were an important part of the messages conveyed by anthropomorphic iconography in the European Iron Age. The dataset reflects a tendency toward masculine gendered objects, probably because men were depicted more often than women in figural representations. This is interesting in view of the fact that the mortuary record actually favors elite women when it comes to visibility (Arnold 2012: 92; Burmeister 2000: 550) and may reflect temporal and regional variability. For example, the two iconic unlooted Iron Age central chamber burials associated with iconographic representations in Germany are both male (Glauberg and Hochdorf), while it appears that the two unlooted Iron Age central chamber burials in France are likely both female (Vix and Lavau) (Arnold 2020: 199-200, 206). This apparent pattern in the iconographic record could be an artifact of differential preservation coupled with a difference with respect to where and how female figures were displayed in different regions and through time and deserves further study.

2) **How common is the representation of primary and secondary sexual characteristics in whole-body images?**

Only 30 figures display either primary or secondary sexual characteristics: 12 (15%) instances of primary sex characteristics and 18 (23%) of secondary sex characteristics occur in the sample analyzed for this study. The breakdown is six (20%) penises, six (20%) vulvae, 11 (37%) facial hair, and seven (23%) breasts out of 30 (Figure 4.6).

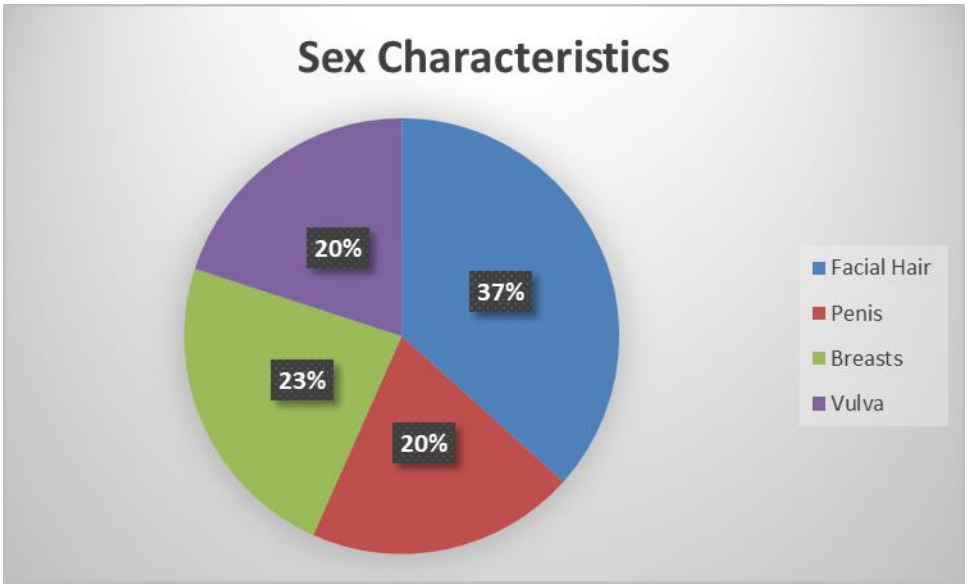

Figure 4.6. Breakdown of combined sex characteristics.

Only six (8%) statues have a combination of primary and secondary sex characteristics (Table 4.14) but all of these are from the same locality in France (cf. the Bronze Dancers) and depict dancing nude figures (Müller 2009: 248).

Table 4.14. Combinations of Sex Characteristics in Context

Sex Characteristics	**Name**	**Number**
Vulva and Breasts	France-Bronze Dancers	5 (83%)
Penis and Facial Hair	France-Bronze Dancers	1 (17%)
Total		6

It makes sense that the secondary sex characteristics are more prevalent because nudity is uncommon among the larger anthropomorphic figures of this period. This may actually reflect changing conventions over time, since the only monumental stone sculpture in the study depicted nude but wearing ornament and bearing weapons is the Hirschlanden stela, thought to date to the 6th c BCE. Dancing ithyphallic male figures on the couch in the Hochdorf grave, which contained most of the elements depicted on the stela, reinforce this idea (Scarre 1998: 174; Biel

1985). A century later, also in Germany, the Glauberg statue is depicted fully clothed and wearing body armor. Additionally, several centuries later the only sex characteristics displayed on the famous Gundestrup cauldron are breasts and facial hair and it is not clear whether the figures are nude or not. Facial hair and breasts can be displayed even when figures are clothed, signaling sex, gender and status. However, due to the low number of visible sex characteristics represented in the sample, it is possible that the creators of these images relied more on gender attributions than sex attributions.

3) How variable are representations of facial hair in representations of human heads?

Facial hair appears nine times in the study sample of 57 heads, which means facial hair only appears 15% of the time. In contrast to the Classical sources, both written and iconographic (as exemplified by the Dying Gaul figure), beards and moustaches combined are the most common occurrence vs. moustaches alone; even beards alone appear more often than moustaches alone (Table 4.15). There is no obvious regional pattern for facial hair representations, but they appear more frequently in the La Tène period. The Hirschlanden stela, by contrast with the Glauberg statues (one complete and fragments of at least two additional bearded figures from the site), appears to be wearing a mask and no facial hair is represented, suggesting that here again there may be a temporal difference. Razors and tweezer sets in burials, on the other hand, appear not to mirror this temporal distinction, since such grooming tools are found in late Hallstatt as well as early La Tène period burials (Dubuis 2018: 241; Scarre 1998: 175; Sievers 1984: 47).

Table 4.15. Facial Hair

Facial Hair	**Number**
Beard/moustache	6 (67%)
Beard	2 (22%)
Moustache	1 (11%)
Grand Total	**9**

Grooming tools from mortuary and settlement contexts consist of tweezers, nail picks/cutters, earspools, razors, or combs used in life and/or for the beautification of the dead (Kincade 2014: 38-40; Jordan 2016: 881: Treherne 1995: 121). They are found across the temporal and geographic range of the European Iron Age at late Hallstatt sites such as Hochdorf and the Magdalenenberg in Germany and La Tène sites like Lavau in France and Palhais in Portugal (Arnold 2016: 848; Scarre 1998: 172; Spindler 1971-1980: Tables 1, 10-11, 16, 24, 31, 45, 48-49, 60; Valério et al. 2013: 363). Of the four previously mentioned sites three elite burials contained grooming tools related to facial hair upkeep in the form of razors (Hochdorf and Magdalenenberg) and tweezers (Lavau). Tweezers are also found in burials of women, however, so this grooming tool cannot be exclusively associated with male identity. Razors, on the other hand, can be used as a proxy for sex because they appear exclusively in male burials (Arnold 2016: 840).

Many of these items were found close to the interred individual or in the head area, suggesting a close personal connection with this grave good category. Grooming tools related to facial hair support the hypothesis that the men of the European Iron Age maintained various facial hair styles, which is supported by the iconography to some extent. Paul Treherne suggests that grooming, especially shaving, which would have been difficult without mirrors, was a bonding activity among warriors (Treherne 1995: 126). Whatever their role in life, the symbolic importance of grooming tools is indicated by their placement in the grave of a loved one by the survivors.

How then can we interpret the 48 heads in the study sample without facial hair? Some of these are likely female while youth or a gender-neutral status are additional possibilities; the latter might represent the metaphysical idea of youth such as strength, speed, or new beginnings,

but the possibility remains that some of the statues are intended to depict young people. In some cases, as at Entremont in Gaul, a shaved face might be a sign of disrespect or emasculation of an enemy (Armit 2012: 216) but this appears to have been a geographically and temporally restricted phenomenon.

4) **Do representations of female vs. male figures vary in frequency and/or presence in different regions of Iron Age Europe, and are there changes through time?**

While the frequency of occurrence of sexed figures was discussed above, geographic and temporal patterns exist as well. The depiction of primary sex characteristics increases in the La Tène period while female primary sex characteristics appear exclusively in La Tène France (Table 4.16). Male primary sex characteristics also appear mainly in La Tène France but there are a few isolated examples in Germany and Portugal. One of the male figures already mentioned, the Hirschlanden figure, is a transitional statue from the end of the Hallstatt period.

Table 4.16. Geographic and Temporal Distribution of Primary Sex Characteristics

Context/Date/ Region)	Penis	Vulva	Total
100 BCE- 100 CE			**8**
France	3	5	
150-50 BCE			**1**
Czech Republic	1		
550-500 BCE			**1**
Germany	1		
N/A			**1**
Portugal		1	
Grand Total	**5**	**6**	**11**

Secondary sex characteristics appear exclusively in the La Tène period, and like primary sex characteristics, female secondary sex characteristics are more prominent in the late La Tène period (200 BCE-100 CE) in Gaul, whereas male characteristics are spread out across multiple

regions (Table 4.17). Most of the figures with sexable characteristics date to just before or just after the Romans invade Gaul in the mid-1st century BCE. Reasons for this will be discussed further below, but foreign influences were clearly beginning to impact local stylistic expressions including the display of more prominent sexual features.

Table 4.17. Geographic and Temporal Contexts of Secondary Sex Characteristics

Region/Date	Breasts	Facial hair	Total
France			**8 (44%)**
100 BCE- 100 CE	5	2	
200 BCE- 100 CE		1	
Germany			**3 (17%**
499-400 BCE		2	
400-300 BCE		1	
Portugal			**3 (17%)**
200-100 BCE	1	2	
Spain			**2 (11%)**
N/A	1	1	
Croatia			**1 (5%)**
599-500 BCE		1	
Czech Republic			**1 (5%)**
180-150 BCE		1	
Grand Total	**7 (39%)**	**11 (61%)**	**18**

5) How common are gender-neutral anthropomorphic representations, and do they share contextual, material, or temporal characteristics?

A gender-neutral figure exhibits no gendered elements or elements that are associated with both genders in mortuary contexts. There are 18 (23%) instances of statues without gendered elements and 14 (18%) lacking both sex and gender markers. There is no obvious geographic distribution pattern, as such figures appear throughout most of the regions included in this study (France, Germany, Spain, Portugal). They are also spread out over time, appearing more frequently in the La Tène period but otherwise in no discernable pattern. They are all made of

stone. A small number of statues exhibit what can be described as mixed gender features. The statue from Capestrano in Italy has a hat, sword and paired upper-arm bracelets. The statue from Castro Di Lezenho, Vila Real, Portugal, has facial hair and paired upper-arm rings. One of the Bronze Dancers from France has paired bracelets and short hair; however, those three statues seem to be the only examples, and they share the same features of upper arm rings in pairs, which can be viewed as male (position above the bicep) and female (symmetrical distribution). A similar duality may be seen in the recently discovered elite burial of Lavau, with a single upper arm ring (male) made of lignite or jet (a material more commonly associated with female burials). This burial also contained symmetrically distributed gold arm rings and remains ambiguous as to both sex and gender (Arnold 2020: 206).

The appearance of these gender-neutral images might be the result of preservation issues but it could also be a factor of stylistic expression. Five of these statues are heads only without facial hair, which means there is not enough of the figure remaining to express gender apart from head hair length (which is ambiguous) or facial hair (which is not always present). However, they clearly communicated something to their intended audience, perhaps a representation of a well-known figure (either human or divine) and therefore only certain elements such as the face or recognizable stance remain to convey that message. In the absence of textual evidence or oral traditions, it is difficult to draw concrete conclusions about these 18 images.

6) Is there a correlation between the date, material, scale, and context of an image and the likelihood that it can be identifiably gendered?

As previously discussed, stone is the most prevalent material in this study, with bronze a close second, which skews the materiality aspect of this question. However, material such as bronze is malleable and can be cast as well as altered, which makes it easier to depict features

that convey gender or sex. In addition, bronze was seen as a status metal and could have been chosen for these statues for that reason. On the other hand, this also means that many of these images may have been melted down over the ages. It is also noteworthy that the bronze statues date primarily to the late La Tène period (200 BCE-100 CE), while stone was used throughout the Iron Age and preserves well, which skews the data in favor of stone figures.

Concerning date and scale, there is not much to say as 48 (62%) out of 78 statues did not have listed dimensions, and very few (3) provided dimensions apart from height. However, it appears that statues taller than 100 cm are absent after late 4th c. BCE—the statues after that point range from 4.8 cm to 55 cm. Engendered features appear more often on taller statues (100 cm or above) than they do on smaller statues (under 100 cm) (Appendix B.11). The taller the statue, the more space there is to work with to provide greater detail.

Most of the statues were found in settlements or in ditches or pits outside them; this unfortunately does not provide enough information about how their context might have related to their function. Statues found in settlement contexts could have been set up in houses, public spaces, or have been removed from ritual contexts during raids, likely in the case of those found in ditches and pits outside the perimeter of the settlement. However, if these statues were displayed in a settlement context for multiple people to see, then it would be expected that more features related to gender, age and status would be present to act as visual cues for onlookers. The frequency with which stele like the Glauberg, Hirschlanden and Mont Lassois/Les Herbues statues are found in a fragmentary or damaged state suggests that iconoclasm in mortuary contexts could partly explain the relatively small number of such sculptures. This also supports the idea that such images served a ritual function and were targeted for that reason.

7) **To what extent can we see evidence for trans-Alpine influences before the Roman conquest in anthropomorphic imagery?**

While a difficult question to answer, a few of the figures provide evidence for trans-Alpine influences and connections. First and foremost, Iberia (Spain and Portugal) had frequent contact with Phoenician and Greek traders and later Roman influences must also be considered (Cunliffe 2018: 74-75). This would explain why statues such as the Dama collection look more like Greek statues than those found in France and Germany dated to the 5th c BCE. Central and western European contexts were connected to the Mediterranean cultures through the Greek port of Massalia, modern Marseilles, a conduit for trade and exchange during the Hallstatt period (Cunliffe 2018: 109). While it is not clear how exposed these groups were to Greek statuary, they would have been familiar with Mediterranean artistic styles in the form of pottery and other imports associated with feasting. Trans-Alpine trade with the Golasecca culture area in northern Italy and later with the Etruscans served as another mechanism for the exchange of goods and ideas during the late Hallstatt period (Cunliffe 2018: 122-123).

There are numerous examples of Greek pottery and metalwork in elite burials that reflect the exposure of Iron Age European elites to Mediterranean artistic styles. Famously, the bronze cauldron from the Hochdorf burial was decorated with a lion figure that was clearly a replacement by local artisans attempting to emulate the original Greek versions seen in the back of the image below (Figure 4.7) (Scarre 1998: 175). Another example comes from Lavau where an imported Attic oinochoe was modified by a local artisan who removed the original base and attached a new one while adding a gilded rim (Dubuis and Millet 2017: 11).

Figure 4.7. Hochdorf lions. (Top and Middle) Greek. (Bottom) Local.

These exchange systems served as conduits for exposure to extra-regional art styles and iconography, but it is not clear how much interaction and direct influence was occurring between the various groups across the Alps. We do not know whether traders as well as artisans made the journey across the mountain passes or across the lakes. However, there are two events in the La Tène period that would have exposed a large number of people from West and Central Europe to the Mediterranean world. In 390 BCE, a band of Celts sacked the Roman provinces on the Italian peninsula and surrounded the city of Rome itself (Arnold and Murray 2003; Cunliffe 2018: 140). After they were paid off, it took several decades to remove these warbands from Roman territory, during which time these raiders were exposed to numerous styles of Roman iconography (Cunliffe 2018: 141). Later, another large force of Celts led by the chieftain Brennos made its way into Macedonia and Greece, and by 279 BCE, they had sacked their way to the city of Delphi (Cunliffe 2018: 147-148). It should noted that the evidence for these events

primarily comes from ancient Greco-Roman accounts that must be used with caution may not be strictly accurate, possibly detailing migration events rather than invasions.

The mortuary record contains examples of hybrid and foreign weapons and armor in Etruria and Greece that further support the movement of temperate Europeans south of the Alps. At the Etruscan site of Monte Bibele, Italy, 156 graves were uncovered with Celtic-style weapons; inscriptions provide further evidence of intermarrying between "Celts" and Etruscans (Müller 2009: 86). At the site of Canosa di Puglia in Italy a helmet was found decorated with various S-motifs and triskelion patterns that are reminiscent of the geometric shapes found on other Celtic designs (Figure 4.8) (Kruta 2015: 100). Lastly, a La Tène style sword from the site of Dodona in Greece dating to the early La Tène period sword has been interpreted by J.V.S. Megaw as a ritual deposit made by someone from Celtic Iron Age Europe (Kavur 2017: 119-120; Megaw 1968: 187-188; 2004: 100). These instances combined with the accounts of Greco-Roman authors suggest that not only was there a long period of raids and invasions by "Celtic" warbands in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE (Arnold 1996), but that they likely intermingled with the local communities and could have acted as intermediaries in transferring artistic styles across the Alps.

Figure 4.8. Helmet from Canosa di Puglia.

A pattern seems to emerge in the prevalence of sex characteristics in anthropomorphic imagery before 390 BCE and after 270 BCE, although the selective nature of the sample means it should be interpreted with caution. Nine out of eleven (82%) figures exhibiting primary sex characteristics date after 270 BCE (Table 4.18) while 12 out of 16 (75%) secondary sex characteristics also appear after 270 BCE (Table 4.19). It is not clear whether this increase in the appearance of sex characteristics is related strictly to the migration and increased exposure of central European groups to Mediterranean cultures and artistic styles.

Table 4.18. Primary Sex Characteristics before and after 270 BCE

Context/Date/ Region	**Penis**	**Vulva**	**Total**
100 BCE- 100 CE			**8 (73%)**
France	3	5	
150-50 BCE			**1 (9%)**
Czech Republic	1		
550-500 BCE			**1 (9%)**
Germany	1		
N/A			**1 (9%)**
Portugal		1	
Grand Total	**5**	**6**	**11**

Table 4.19. Secondary Sex Characteristics before and after 270 BCE

Context/Date/Region	**Breasts**	**Facial hair**	**Total**
100 BCE- 100 CE			**7 (39%)**
France	5	2	
200-100 BCE			**3 (17%)**
Portugal	1	2	
499-400 BCE			**2 (11%)**
Germany		2	
N/A			**2 (11%)**
Spain	1	1	

180-150 BCE			**1 (6%)**
Czech Republic		1	
200 BCE- 100 CE			**1 (6%)**
France		1	
400-300 BCE			**1 (6%)**
Germany		1	
599-500 BCE			**1 (6%)**
Croatia		1	
Grand Total	**7**	**11**	**18**

It is likely that the raiders and warbands that ventured out of west-central Europe were exposed to or even acquired Greco-Roman iconography on top of the previous exposure that they may have had through trade and began to incorporate these elements into their iconographic styles before the complete switch to Gallo-Roman art in first century CE. This would also mean that the transition to Gallo-Roman art was not entirely due to the Roman occupation but was the result of gradual exposure.

Conclusion

Summary of Findings

This study's main goal and central theme was to develop an intersectional approach to understanding how people in temperate Iron Age Europe expressed gender and sex in their iconography through a comparison with the evidence of age, gender and status differentiation in the mortuary record. This study has found that certain elements of gender representation require reexamination while others appear to be supported by iconographic images. This section will examine each of the gendered and sex elements found in both sources of evidence and provide final thoughts on whether they support the current paradigm or require reinterpretation.

The intersectional approach has proven to be effective in the analysis presented here but the limitations when applied to iconography are also clear. The main issue is the number of aspects that contribute to the lived identity of a person, such as age, job/position, religion, marital status, children, and many more. However, prehistoric iconography, even when combined with mortuary evidence, is constrained by issues of preservation sampling and the limited expression of sex, gender, and status. A statue might depict a once living person but if some of these images are portraits they only represent a moment in their lives or a facsimile of their lives, similar to a romanticized painting. Other statues might depict deities, euhemerized ancestors or enemies and the features might exaggerated or embellished to serve a particular purpose. On the other hand, applying an intersectional approach has revealed additional questions that can be asked and tested against the evidence, as will be discussed below.

Another limitation that relates to the theme of ambiguity revealed by this study is the concept of engendering divine imagery. The issue with this is that in other cultural groups such as Greek, Roman, Egyptian, or even the later Norse gender is a fluid and flexible concept when deities have the power to shapeshift. While we do not understand the local or regional stories of Central European religions as there are no reliable written records left, there is no telling what powers or abilities the gods of places such as Gaul might have had. The gender presented by a particular iconographic representation may only reflect one form or, when depicting a deity, the creators might be emphasizing certain elements important to the narrative associated with the deity rather than reflecting quotidian gender norms. Careful consideration and further study are required to create a method specifically for analyzing images of deities for which this study has merely served as a starting point.

Sex Characteristics

This study has been able to demonstrate that primary sex characteristics appear rarely in iconographic representations in temperate Iron Age Europe. Secondary sex characteristics appear more often but the relative proportion of likely male to likely female individuals appears to be the inverse of what is seen in the contemporary mortuary record with respect to relative frequency of occurrence. The appearance of sex characteristics in iconographic representations in the study area increases after expanded exposure to Greco-Roman iconography after 390 BCE, suggesting that gender attributes rather than sex were emphasized in earlier periods.

Hair Styles

Long hair is primarily associated with additional female sex characteristics and other gendered items when these are represented and/or preserved—the same is true for short hair and male/masculine features. However, there are exceptions that make it difficult to definitively identify particular hairstyles as either masculine or feminine. Iconography is a snapshot of a moment or reflection of the idea of the creator, and without additional textual evidence, there is nothing to determine age, wealth, marital status, number of children, or other life events that might warrant the changing of hairstyles or any of the other engendered attributes reflected in the life course. Based on the data presented here, linking short hair to a masculine identity and long hair with a feminine identity seems warranted, with the caveat that exceptions exist. This is interesting given that Greek and Roman authors generally emphasize the long hair of both men and women among Iron Age peoples north of the Alps (Birkhan 1999: 103-104), which could mean that the figures are not intended to represent living humans and/or that hair styles for euhemerized ancestors or deities were different than those of living people.

Arm Rings

The gendered paradigm for arm rings is that asymmetrically worn, typically single-arm rings/bracelets read as masculine while paired/multiple symmetrically worn arm rings read as feminine (Arnold and Hagmann 2014:1). The study sample partially conformed to this pattern in that paired arm rings or bracelets appeared with male sex characteristics in some areas of Europe (in the case of Iberia there is very little burial evidence to test this against), raising the question of how to interpret arm rings in anthropomorphic imagery. Possibly the mere presence of arm rings was intended to signal elite status, as is true for torcs. Perhaps they signal a different category of high-status person, such as a warrior elite or an aspect of identity that transcends gender, as in the case of deities with dual identities. Other information that statues cannot provide, which would have helped make a stronger argument for a status association, is the arm rings' material.

Head Coverings

Head coverings in the form of hats, veils, and headdresses follow the gender patterns seen in mortuary contexts, where veils and headdresses are primarily associated with women. On the other hand, veils are found concentrated in the Dama statues in Spain and in the situla art in the East Alpine region, which was not included in this analysis (Frie 2017: 177, 186), suggesting that this might have been a regionally specific feature of artistic representations. Head ornament in the form of pins and rings is found in burials of the late Hallstatt period in Germany, France and Switzerland (Arnold and Hagmann 2014), but because we have no sculptural representations of women to compare to the sculptures from Spain (the fragmentary sculpture from Les Herbues near the Vix tumulus was missing its head but is wearing a torc like the one in the Vix burial) this must remain conjecture. Hats appear on statues that read male, some of which are interpreted

as warriors and depict male sex characteristics. All of the birch bark hats found in central Europe to date (at Hochdorf and at the Dürrnberg in Austria) were found in male burials, which suggests that this pattern holds for both sources of evidence (Biel 1998; Böckmann 2009; Egg and Zeller 2005; Hansen 2010; Reeves 2015: 50). The range of head coverings is fairly broad, however, when one compares the Mickey Mouse ears headdress of the Glauberg to the sombrero style hat of Capestrano and the conical birchbark hats in the Hochdorf and Dürrnberg burials and likely the Hirschlanden stela (Figure 4.9). While not every statue wears a head covering, it is clear that hats read as male or masculine whereas veils and headdresses read as female or feminine.

Figure 4.9. Composite of hat styles.

Finger and Hair/Earrings

These elements are grouped as they are both rare in the study at three instances each, except for necklaces at six instances. They follow an engendered pattern also seen in burials, as hair rings and earrings are found exclusively on the Dama statues together with multiple finger rings, which appear to have been an Iberian feature. Single finger rings show up on masculine statues such as the Glauberg and the Capestrano figure but because there are very few examples of these kinds of rings, it is hard to say if they reflect general gendered trends or if these figures were simply wealthy enough to afford rings and are thus depicted with them, possibly examples of signet rings for commercial purposes. Single gold finger rings were found in some burials in these regions, notably at the Glauberg (Müller 2009: 190). It should also be noted that though

hair rings in iconography appear exclusively in a series of statues in Spain and in East Alpine situla art, mortuary evidence for hair rings appears in west-central European Iron Age burials (Arnold and Hagmann 2014), indicating that care must be taken in interpreting this category of personal ornament.

Necklaces

Necklaces appear more often on female figures in the sample, almost exclusively with the Dama statues, except the Capestrano figure and the statue from Rottenburg, which has no additional gendered or sex characteristics. The Capestrano figure is interpreted as a warrior because both a sword and armor are depicted on the statue, although the evidence of paired bracelets and "necklace" (possibly a buckler, which would be more in line with the martial equipment) reads female. However, there is evidence to suggest that the Capestrano figure in this study is male as there is a fragmentary female counterpart (not included in this study due to discovering it post-defense) from the same area that depicts breasts while the "warrior" figure is flat chested (Bonfante 2009: 111-112). This female figure has a similar band on its upper arm that might indicate arm rings or possibly part of an outfit (Bonfante 2009: 111-112). This means that while there is support for the potential sexing of the Capestrano figure it creates more ambiguity around the gendered elements such as necklaces and single arm rings worn above the elbow. Interpretation is complicated in iconographic representations but there is no doubt that necklaces of large numbers of beads are more often found in female burials in west-central Iron Age Europe (Arnold 2016: 840), another place where the two sources of evidence complement rather than contradict one another. While the method of data collection for this study focused on the presence or absence of necklaces and assigned that to a gendered category based on the mortuary record, it should be noted that necklaces may also be status symbols. The style and

ornate shape of necklaces is one possible method for displaying wealth and status, as exemplified by the Dama statues which have large, ornate, and complex necklaces.

Belts

Belts decorated with bronze staples and sheet bronze belt plates are found in large numbers in late Hallstatt women's graves and less often in male burials (Arnold 2016), but the iconography suggests a different association. They are generally rare, reflecting the fact that whole body representations are uncommon, but in the study sample they are primarily found on figures interpreted as warriors or with masculine/male characteristics. While that does not preclude them from being feminine or masculine markers, they appear to be unisex or gender neutral in iconographic as well as mortuary contexts. The absence of belts in male burials may reflect the use of organic material like textiles or leather in men's dress, as is indicated by some more recent discoveries. The site of Lavau provides an example of a belt made of organic material and decorated with gold thread or wire (Arnold 2020: 206). Speckhau Tumuli 17 and 18 also produced evidence of organic belts with metal thread decorations (Arnold 2012: 102-103, 106). Belts exhibit a much greater range of styles than previously thought, suggesting that personal preference and style of belt were diverse and reflect more than gender (Arnold 2020: 204). Unfortunately, due to preservation issues it is much harder to discuss the topic of style and material, especially if the belt was made completely of organic material. The difference between the mortuary and the iconographic evidence for belts as a gender marker probably reflects the material of the belts worn by men while the absence of female sculptural representations in the regions where elaborate women's belt sets are found in large numbers likely explains that pattern in the data set. Additional research should focus on the styles of belts in both contexts with the newly available evidence to test the possible existence of gendered patterns.

Significance

This project presents a new approach to previously studied iconographic representations on a methodological level, in its interpretation of cultural elements and in the ramifications of the findings for iconographic studies more generally. The methods presented in this project focus on anthropomorphic iconographic representations and compare the identity markers found in this data set to that found in mortuary contexts. The use of multiple sources of evidence in the iconographic analysis presented here has relevance for archaeologists using iconography as a means of accessing cosmological as well as social concepts regarding gender ideology in other cultural contexts.

This project has identified several issues with prevailing gender paradigms in the archaeology of Iron Age Europe and provides a foundation for further reinterpretations. Demonstrating inconsistencies between the mortuary record and the iconographic representations has allowed previously gendered items such as arm rings or belts to be reinterpreted as likely less gender and more status- and/or role related markers. Necklaces might have been equivalent to torcs in some contexts and weapons may have served as multi-faceted signifiers of various identities. Ultimately, this project provides a set of benchmarks against which other anthropomorphic elements can be similarly tested, especially those that are decorative elements.

Future Research

The first and foremost suggestion for future research must be to expand the analytical parameters to include all forms of stand-alone anthropomorphic representations that are currently held in museums or other facilities rather than just those that have been published. Additional

categories such as representations found on adornments (mostly heads) and situla art could be included and the geographic scope could be expanded to include the British Isles.

One of the topics that is not only at the core of this study but deserves additional investigation is the binary bind that has hampered the interpretation of Iron Age gender studies, in particular accepting the idea of gender ambiguity. Previous interpretations of grave goods in Iron Age contexts have been based on a dichotomous divide between interpretations of biological sexing that is supposed to represent the interred individual for the entirety of their lives (Arnold 2016: 832-833). However, anyone who has experienced a few decades of life knows that their identity is not fixed and that social roles or identities change over time. This phenomenon is difficult if not impossible to see in the mortuary record as the dead do not bury themselves so we do not see all the different roles one person may have occupied over time (Arnold 2016: 833). A similar problem exists in the analysis of anthropomorphic imagery, which creates a snapshot of an individual either as a portrait of a real person or as a symbolic representation in which identity marking may be very different from what it was in life. The main message is that neat categories of persons based on strictly defined categories of personal ornament or other material culture are not what this study has revealed.

The art historical approach may offer additional clarity in understanding the changes over time of styles and symbols. While the context of this study does not have written sources to back up claims, there are plenty of patterns in the style and a narrative function to the iconography. In the case of the previously discussed Lloyd (2020) article, certain elements such as the sex of the child were determined by examining (among other elements) the patterns and type of urns present (Lloyd 2020). This approach is already incorporated into the study, at least examining

style over time, but a more in-depth incorporation and examination might yield additional patterns.

For future studies, the complexities of roles and intersectionality of identity should be considered when interpreting findings and we as scholars and archaeologists should not be hesitant to challenge existing assumptions when the evidence suggests they are too limiting. What this study has shown is that ambiguity is possible and not a stopping place. There are several statues in this study that do not have any gender or sex characteristics, but they are still meant to represent someone, using visual cues that are unfamiliar to modern researchers. There are also statues such as the warrior of Capestrano which seem to follow the trends for masculine figures with respect to head gear, armor and weapons but present arm rings that challenge a simple interpretation (Arnold 2016: 840). The mortuary evidence from Lavau presents a similar challenge in that the skeleton appears to be morphologically male but no weapons were found (there is a possible helmet fragment) and personal ornament reads feminine as well as masculine (Arnold 2020: 206).

This recurring topic of ambiguity is highlighted by the Capestrano statue. Aside from the multiple gendered objects displayed on the figure which code as both feminine and masculine based on current understandings, the physical features have been debated, including the flat chest, which reads as male, and the curvy or fat-filled legs and buttocks, which read as female (Whitehouse 2001: 90). A fragmentary female statue with breasts from the same context suggests that the "warrior" figure is male, though the lower half of the body is what is sexually critiqued as female and there is no lower half of the female statue for comparison (Basile 1993: 11-12). The two images could represent an androgenous couple of the kind that are prevalent in Etruscan art, though determining that would require additional study (Sandhoff 2009: 105) There is even

debate over who produced this statue, including local Italian artists from the Vestini group (Basile 1993: 11). The arm position of the figure is clearly similar to central European figures such as the Glauberg or Hirschlanden statues (Armit and Grant 2008), suggesting a pan-European artistic representation of euhemerized ancestors, but that would be difficult to prove. The ambiguity of the "male" Capestrano statue suggests new possibilities for researchers to explore.

Another example comes from the Hillside Farms site in southwestern England where a burial of undetermined sex and rich grave goods was discovered (Jordan 2016: 891) that contained an iron sword and bronze mirror. Swords typically read "male" while mirrors read "female", which caused researchers to go back and forth on gender, ultimately deciding that the mirror must be a magic weapon (Jordan 2016: 891-893). However, this was a forced conclusion to fit a dichotomous paradigm, leading Jordan to suggest that the ambiguity of the situation is what has led archaeologists to reexamine local burials customs and how they differ from regional patterns (Jordan 2016: 894-895). Ambiguity is not necessarily a problem-- it is an opportunity for archaeologists to rethink their paradigms and explore new research questions.

This study has challenged several engendered paradigms that could be followed up, including what makes a warrior a warrior in Iron Age European burials and iconography. The study drew on methods developed by Frie (2018) and demonstrated that this kind of comparative examination and iconographic study can be carried out in a way that allows iconographic analysis to encompass the complexities as well as ease the difficulties of accessing cosmological viewpoints through iconographic representation (Robb 2020: 476). Iconography on its own has limited interpretive potential but this study has shown is that when coupled with mortuary

evidence and subjected to an intersectional analysis, it can help reveal new ideas about cultures without written records whose story telling methods were largely oral and visual.

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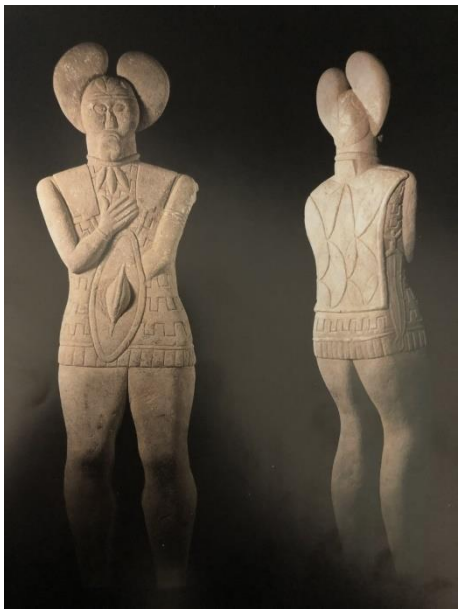
Appendix A: Catalogue of Iconographic Representations

Germany

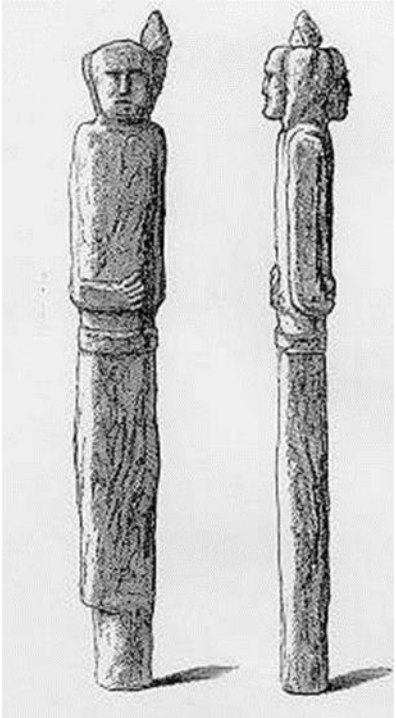


A.1. Glauberg.

A.2. Glauberg.

A.3. Hirschlanden.

A.4. Heidelberg.

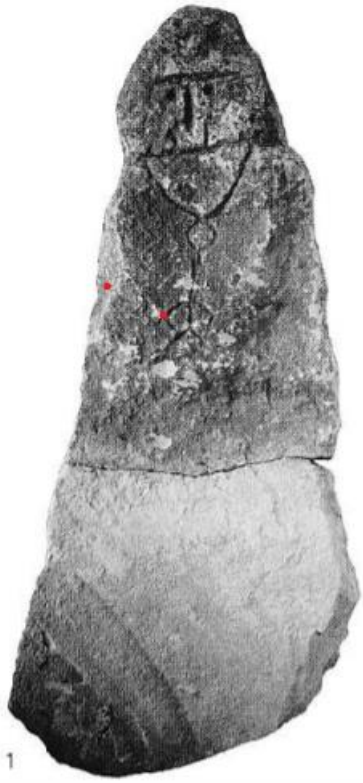


A.5. Holzgerlingen.

A.6. Holzgerlingen (crown repaired).

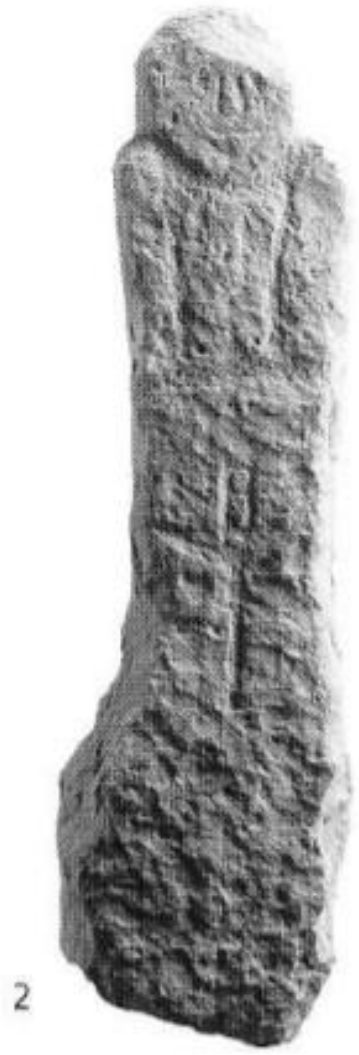
A.7. Pfalzfeld.

A.8. Waldenbuch-Steinenbronn.



A.9. Rottenburg.

A.10. Rottenburg.



A.11. Calw-Stammheim.

Spain

A.12. Dama de Baza.

A.13. Dama de Elche.

A.14. Dama de La Alcudia.

A.15. La Dama de Cabezo Lucero.

A.16. Anllo.

A.17 Xinzo de Limia.

A.18. Pedrafita.

A.19. Barán.

A.20. Monte Güimil.

A.21. Armeá.

A.22. Armeá

A.23. Seixabre 1.

A.24. Seixabre 2.

A.25. Seixabre 3.

France

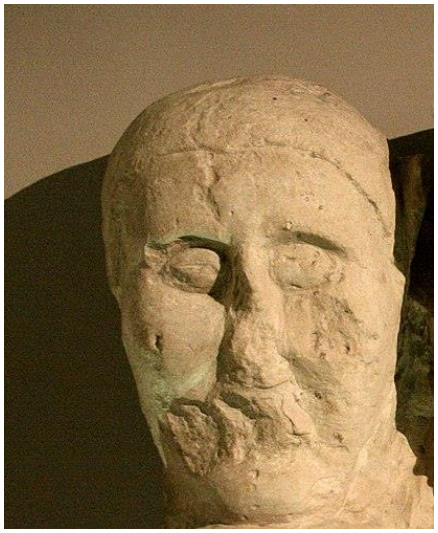
A.26. Les Herbues 1, Mont Lassois.

A.27. Les Herbues 2, Mont Lassois.

A.28. Entremont 1.

A.29. Entremont 2.

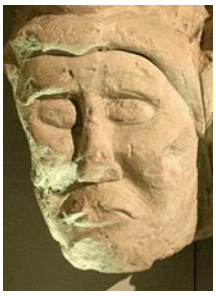
A.30. Entremont 3.



A.31. Entremont 4.

A.32. Entremont 5.

A.33. Entremont 6.



A.34. Entremont 7.

A.35. Entremont 8.

A.36. Source-de-la-Seine 1.

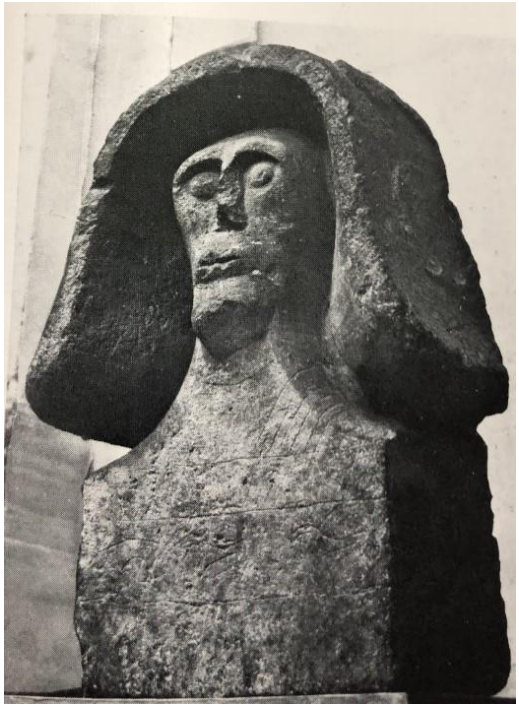
A.37. Pilgrim Figures, Source-de-la-Seine 2.

A.38. Pilgrim Figures, Source-de-la-Seine 3.

A.39. Crouching figure, Glanum, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence.

A.40. Paule-Saint-Symphorien.

A.41. Source-de-la-Roche.



A.42. St. Chaptes.

A.43. Roquepertuse 1.

A.44. Roquepertuse 2a.

A.45. Roquepertuse 2b.

A.46. Euffigneix.

A.47. Bouray.

A.48. Figure from Saint-Maur-en-Chaussee.

A.49. Neuvy-en-Sullias 1.

A.50. Neuvy-en-Sullias 2.

A.51. Neuvy-en-Sullias 3.

A.52. Neuvy-en-Sullias 4.

A.53. Neuvy-en-Sullias 5.

A.54. Neuvy-en-Sullias 6.

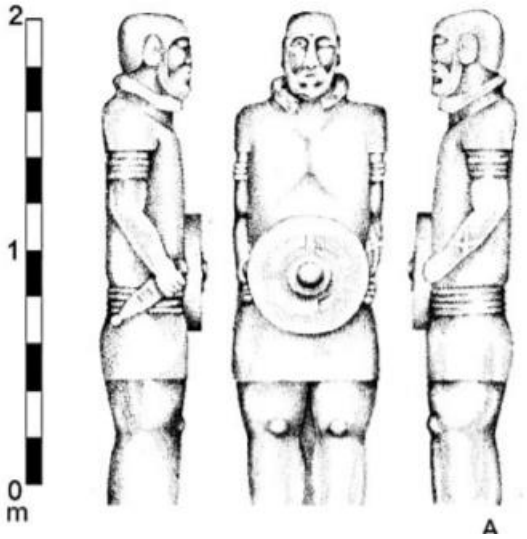
A.55. Neuvy-en-Sullias 7.

A.56. Neuvy-en-Sullias 8.

A.57. Neuvy-en-Sullias 9.

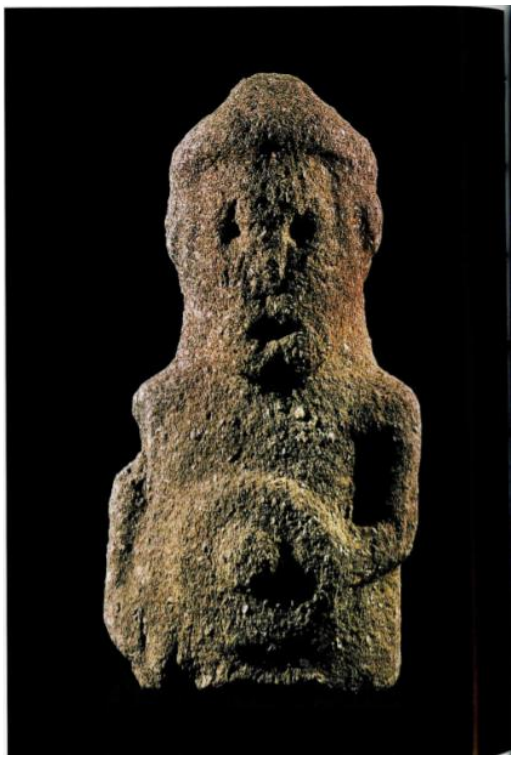
A.58. Grezan, Gard.

Portugal



A.59. Castro Di Lezenho, Vila Real 1.

A.60. Castro Di Lezenho, Vila Real 2.

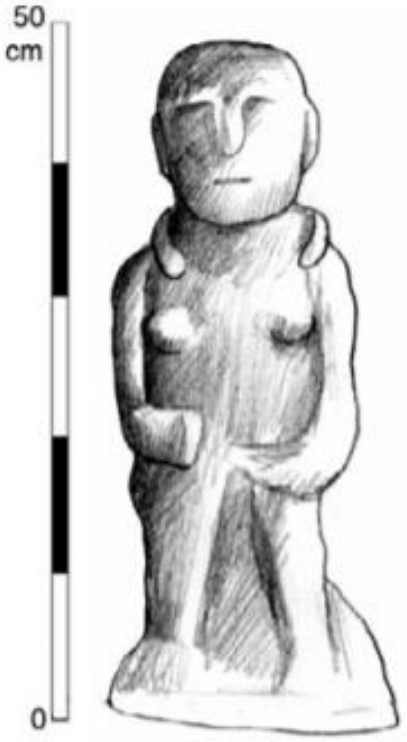


A.61. Capeludes.

A.62. São Julião.

A.63. Sanfins.

A.64. Santa Comba.



A.65. Briteiros.

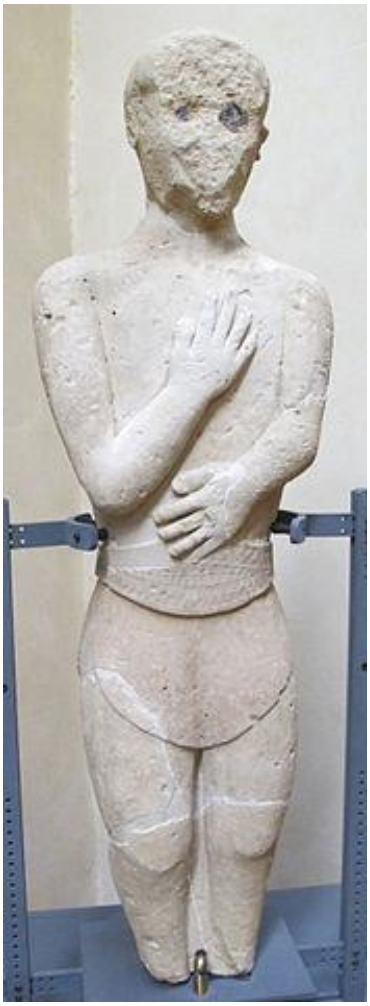
A.66. Sendim.

Italy

A.67. Borimo.

A.68. Capestrano.

A.69. Necropolis A, Casale Marittimo, Pisa.



A.70. Necropolis B, Casale Marittimo, Pisa.

A.71. Crocifisso del Tufo.

Czech Republic

A.72. Mšecké Žehrovice.

A.73. Stradonice.

Slovenia

A.74. Idrija pri Baci.

Switzerland

A.75. Nyon, Lake Geneva.

A.76. Yverdon-les-Bains.

Croatia

A.77. Nesactium 1.

A.78. Nesactium 2.

Denmark

A.79. Gundestrup Cauldron 1.

A.80. Gundestrup Cauldron 2.

A.81. Gundestrup Cauldron 3.

A.82. Gundestrup Cauldron 4.

A.83. Gundestrup Cauldron 5.

A.84. Gundestrup Cauldron 6.

A.85. Gundestrup Cauldron 7.

A.86. Gundestrup Cauldron 8.

A.87. Gundestrup Cauldron 9.

A.88. Gundestrup Cauldron 10.

A.89. Gundestrup Cauldron head 11.

A.90. Gundestrup Cauldron 12.

A.91. Gundestrup Cauldron 13.

Appendix B: Additional Data Tables

B.1 Primary Sex Characteristics by Material, Site Type, and Date Range

Material	Vulva	Penis	Total
Stone			**3**
Ritual context			
399-125 BCE		1	
Settlement			
N/A	1		
Burial			
550-500 BCE		1	
Bronze			**9**
Settlement			
150-50 BCE		1	
Other			
100 BCE- 100 CE	5	3	
Grand Total	**6**	**6**	**12**

. B.2. Secondary Sex Characteristics by Material, Settlement, and Date Range

Material	Breasts	Facial hair	Total
Stone			**10**
N/A			
N/A	1	1	
599-500 BCE		1	
Settlement			
200-100 BCE	1	2	
Burial			
499-400 BCE		2	
400-300 BCE		1	
Other			
180-150 BCE		1	
Bronze			**7**
N/A			
200 BCE- 100 CE		1	
Other			
100 BCE- 100 CE	5	1	
Wood			**1**
Ritual context			

100 BCE- 100 CE		1	
Grand Total	**7**	**11**	**18**

B.3. Context of Gendered Feature: Hair

Context (Region, Location, and Name)	**Short**	**Long**	**Total**
France			**18**
Bouray-sur-Juine			
Crossed Legged Figure	1		
Entremont, Aix-en-Provence			
Entremont Head	3		
Euffigneix, Haute-Marne			
Pilliar Statue with Boar		1	
Neuvy-en-Sullias			
Bronze Dancer	4	5	
Paule-Saint-Symphorien, Brittany			
A God with a Lyre		1	
Saint- Maur-en-Chaussee, Picardy			
Bronze Warrior Figure	1		
Source de la Seine, Burgundy			
Pilgrim Figure	1		1
Source-de-la-Roche			
Carving of a Woman		1	1
Croatia			**2**
Nesactium, Istria			
Stone Head	2		
Portugal			**2**
Castro Di Lezenho, Vila Real			
Warrior Statue	2		

Switzerland			**2**
Nyon on Lake Genva			
Stone Head	1		
Yverdon-les-Bains			
Wooden Statue		1	
Czech Republic			**1**
Mšecké Žehrovice, Bohemia			
Carved Head	1		
Grand Total	**16**	**9**	**25**

B.4. Context of Gendered Feature: Head Covering

Context (Region, Location, Name)	Hat	Veil and headdress	Veil	Total
Germany				**7**
Heidelberg, Baden-Württemberg				
Heidelberg head	1			
Hessen				
Glauberg Head	1			
Glauberg Statue	1			
Holzgerlingen, Boblingen				
Statue of a god	2			
Pfalzfeld, Rheinland-Pfalz				
Carved Stone Pillar	1			
Stuttgart				
Hirschlanden Figure	1			
Spain				**3**
Granada				
Dama de Baza		1		
Guardamar del Segura, Alicante				
La Dama de Cabezo Lucero		1		
La Alcudia, Elche				
Dama de Elche		1		

France				**3**
Source de la Seine, Burgundy				
Pilgrim Figure	1			
Source-de-la-Roche				
Carving of a Woman			1	
Portugal				**1**
Capeludos				
Warrior Statue	1			
Italy				**1**
Capestrano				
Warrior Statue	1			
Slovenia				**1**
Idrija pri Baci				
Man with Hat	1			
Grand Total	**11**	**3**	**2**	**16**

B.5. Context of Gendered Feature: Arm Ring

Context (Region, Site Type, Date)	Single-upper arm	Paired bracelets	Paired-upper arm	Single bracelet	Total
France					**6**
N/A					
400- 100 BCE	1				
ritual context					
300-124 BCE	2				
399-125 BCE	1				
460-420 BCE	1				
other					
100 BCE- 100 CE		1			
Portugal					
settlement					
200-100 BCE	3		1		
N/A	1				

Spain					**3**
settlement					
N/A	1	1			
burial					
400-300 BCE		1			
Czech Republic					**1**
settlement					
150-50 BCE	1				
Germany					**1**
burial					
499-400 BCE	1				
Italy					**1**
ritual context					
600-500 BCE			1		
Slovenia					**1**
N/A					
500 BCE				1	
Grand Total	**12**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**18**

B.6. Context of Gendered Feature: Finger Rings

Context (Region, Site Type, Date)	Multiple-symmetric	Single	Total
Spain			**1**
Burial			
400-300 BCE	1		
Germany			**1**
Burial			
499-400 BCE		1	
Italy			**1**
Ritual context			
600-500 BCE		1	
Grand Total	**1**	**2**	**3**

B.7. Context of Gendered Feature: Hair and Earrings.

Context (Region, Site Type, Date)	Hair	Hair and ear	Total
Spain			**3**
Settlement			
400-300 BCE	1		
400-370 BCE	1		
Burial			**1**
400-300 BCE		1	
Grand Total	**2**	**1**	**3**

B.8. Context of Gendered Feature: Necklaces

Context (Region, Site Type, Date)	Number	Total
Spain		**4**
N/A		
N/A	1	
Settlement		
400-300 BCE	1	
400-370 BCE	1	
Burial		
400-300 BCE	1	
Germany		**1**
Burial		
600-500 BCE	1	
Italy		**1**
Ritual context		
600-500 BCE	1	
Grand Total	**6**	**6**

B.9. Context of Gendered Feature: Belt

Context (Region, Site Type, Date)	Number	Total
France		**4**
N/A		
200 BCE- 100 CE	1	
400- 100 BCE	1	
ritual context		
300-124 BCE	1	

other		
100 BCE- 100 CE	1	
Portugal		**4**
settlement		
200-100 BCE	3	
N/A	1	
Germany		**3**
N/A		
500-400 BCE	2	
burial		
550-500 BCE	1	
Italy		**3**
ritual context		
600-500 BCE	1	
burial		
700-675 BCE	2	
Slovenia		**1**
N/A		
500 BCE	1	
Spain		**1**
burial		
400-300 BCE	1	
Grand Total	**16**	**16**

B.10. Belts and Warrior Titled Statues

Region and Name	Number	Total
Portugal		**4**
Warrior Statue	4	
France		**3**
Bronze Warrior Figure	1	
Warrior Statue	1	
Entremont Warrior	1	
Germany		**1**
Hirschlanden Figure	1	
Italy		**1**
Warrior Statue	1	
Grand Total	**9**	**9**

B.11. Height of Engendered Statues

Height	**Hair**	**Arm rings**	**Head covering**	**Finger rings**	**Hair ring and earring**	**Necklaces**	**Belt**	**Total**
Above 100cm	0	3	7	3	1	2	5	**21**
Below 100cm	8	4	3	0	1	1	2	**19**
Grand Total	**8**	**7**	**10**	**3**	**2**	**3**	7	**40**

Appendix C: Dataset Information

Master Data Table

Germany

ID	Name	Location	Region	Date Range	Site Type	Material
1	Glauberg Statue	Hesse	Germany	499-400 BCE	burial	stone
2	Glauberg Head	Hesse	Germany	499-400 BCE	burial	stone
3	Hirschlanden Figure	Stuttgart	Germany	550-500 BCE	burial	stone
4	Heidleburg head	Heidleburg, Baden-Wurttemberg	Germany	400-300 BCE	burial	stone
5	Statue of a god	Holzgerlingen, Boblingen	Germany	500-400 BCE	N/A	stone
6	Statue of a god	Holzgerlingen, Boblingen	Germany	500-400 BCE	N/A	stone
7	Carved Stone Pillar	Pfalzfeld, Rheinland-Pfalz	Germany	400-300 BCE	burial	stone
8	Carved Pillar	Waldenbuch-Steinenbronn, Bade-Wurttemberg	Germany	360-320 BCE	N/A	stone
9	Rottenburg	Baden-Wurttemberg	Germany	600-500 BCE	burial	stone
10	Brandgrubengrab	Baden-Wurttemberg	Germany	600-500 BCE	burial	stone
11	Stone Statue	Calw-stammheim, Baden-Wurttemberg	Germany	600-500 BCE	burial	stone

Dimensions	Cranial Elements	Position of Limbs	Head	Facial Hair	Hair	Torc
H: 186 cm	torso and limbs	crossed	present	beard/moustache	absent	present
N/A	absent	N/A	present	beard/moustache	absent	present
H: 152 cm	torso and limbs	crossed	present	absent	absent	present
N/A	absent	N/A	present	absent	absent	absent
H: 250 cm	torso	crossed	present	absent	absent	absent
H: 250 cm	torso	crossed	present	absent	absent	absent
H: 148 cm	absent	N/A	present	beard/moustache	absent	absent
H: 125 cm	limbs	crossed	absent	absent	absent	absent
N/A	absent	N/A	present	absent	absent	absent
N/A	absent	N/A	present	absent	absent	absent
N/A	torso and limbs	crossed	present	absent	absent	absent

Weapon	Armor	Animal	ead Coveri	Arm Ring	Finger Ring	r Ring/Ear
sword	curiass and shield	absent	hat	single-upper arm	single	absent
absent	absent	absent	hat	absent	absent	absent
dagger	absent	absent	hat	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	hat	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	hat	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	hat	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	hat	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent

Necklace	Belt	Sex Charaa	y Sex Chara
absent	absent	absent	facial hair
absent	absent	absent	facial hair
absent	present	penis	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	present	absent	absent
absent	present	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	facial hair
absent	absent	absent	absent
present	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent

Spain

ID	Name	Location	Region	Date Range	Site Type	Material
12	Dama de Baza	Granada	Spain	400-300 BCE	burial	stone
13	Dama de Elche	La Alcudia, Elche	Spain	400-300 BCE	settlement	stone
14	Dama de La Alcudia	La Alcudia, Elche	Spain	N/A	N/A	stone
15	La Dama de Cabezo Lucero	Guardamar del Segura, Alicante	Spain	400-370 BCE	settlement	stone
16	Warrior Bust	Anllo (Ourense)	Spain	200-100 BCE	settlement	stone
17	Seated Figure	Xinzo de Limia (Ourense)	Spain	N/A	settlement	stone
18	Seated Figure	Pedrafita (Ourense)	Spain	N/A	settlement	stone
19	Severed Head	Barán (Lugo, Galicia)	Spain	100-1 BCE	ritual context	stone
20	Severed Head	Monte Güimil (Pontevedra, Galicia)	Spain	100 BCE-100 CE	settlement	stone
21	Severed Head	Armeá (Ourense, Galicia)	Spain	N/A	settlement	stone
22	Severed Head	Armeá (Ourense, Galicia)	Spain	N/A	settlement	stone
23	Bust	Seixabre (Pontevedra, Galicia)	Spain	N/A	N/A	stone
24	Bust	Seixabre (Pontevedra, Galicia)	Spain	N/A	N/A	stone
25	Bust	Seixabre (Pontevedra, Galicia)	Spain	N/A	N/A	stone

Dimension	Cranial Ele	ition of Lir	Head	Facial Hair	Hair
H: 133 cm	torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	absent
H: 56 cm, W: 45 cm	absent	N/A	present	absent	absent
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent
N/A	absent	N/A	present	absent	absent
H: 44 cm	absent	N/A	present	absent	absent
H: 69 cm	torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent
N/A	absent	N/A	present	absent	absent
N/A	absent	N/A	present	absent	absent
N/A	absent	N/A	present	absent	absent
N/A	absent	N/A	present	absent	absent
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	present	beard/mo ustache	absent
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	absent
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	absent

Torc	Weapon	Armor	Animal	ead Coveri	Arm Ring
absent	absent	absent	absent	veil and headdres s	paired bracelets
absent	absent	absent	absent	veil and headdres s	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	veil and headdres s	absent
present	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	single-upper arm
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	paired bracelets
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent

Finger Ring	ir Ring/Ear	Necklace	Belt	Sex Charaa	y Sex Chara
multiple-symmetric	hair and ear	present	present	absent	absent
absent	hair	present	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	present	absent	absent	absent
absent	hair	present	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	facial hair
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	breasts

France

ID	Name	Location	Region	Date Range	Site Type	Material	Dimensions
26	Seated Warrior	Vix, Burgundy	France	500-450 BCE	burial	stone	H: 46 cm, l: 38 cm, L: 51 cm
27	Seated Lady	Vix, Burgundy	France	500-450 BCE	burial	stone	H: 62 cm, l: 34 cm, L: 51 cm
28	Entremont Warrior Statue	Entremont, Aix-en-Provence	France	300-124 BCE	ritual context	stone	N/A
29	Entremont Warrior	Entremont, Aix-en-Provence	France	300-124 BCE	ritual context	stone	N/A
30	Entremont Warrior	Entremont, Aix-en-Provence	France	300-124 BCE	ritual context	stone	N/A
31	Entremont Head	Entremont, Aix-en-Provence	France	300-124 BCE	ritual context	stone	N/A
32	Entremont Head	Entremont, Aix-en-Provence	France	300-124 BCE	ritual context	stone	N/A
33	Entremont Head	Entremont, Aix-en-Provence	France	300-124 BCE	ritual context	stone	N/A
34	Entremont Head	Entremont, Aix-en-Provence	France	300-124 BCE	ritual context	stone	N/A
35	Entremont Head	Entremont, Aix-en-Provence	France	300-124 BCE	ritual context	stone	N/A
36	Pilgrim Figure	Source de la Seine, Burgundy	France	100 BCE-100 CE	ritual context	wood	H: 47 cm
37	Pilgrim Figure	Source de la Seine, Burgundy	France	100 BCE-100 CE	ritual context	wood	H: 47 cm
38	Pilgrim Figure	Source de la Seine, Burgundy	France	100 BCE-100 CE	ritual context	wood	H: 47 cm

39	Crouching Warrior	Glanum/St	France	399-125 BCE	ritual context	stone	H: 80 cm
40	A God with a Lyre	Paule-Saint-Symphorien, Brittany	France	200-100 BCE	other	stone	H: 42 cm
41	Carving of a Woman	Source-de-la-Roche	France	100 CE	ritual context	wood	H: 41 cm
42	Head with Helmet	St. Chaptes	France	300-100 BCE	other	stone	H: 51 cm
43	Seated Figure	Roquepertuse, Velaux, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur	France	460-420 BCE	ritual context	stone	H: 100 cm
44	Two-Headed Figure	Roquepertuse, Velaux, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur	France	460-420 BCE	ritual context	stone	H: 20 cm
45	Two-Headed Figure	Roquepertuse, Velaux, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur	France	460-420 BCE	ritual context	stone	H: 20 cm
46	Pilliar Statue with Boar	Euffigneix, Haute-Marne	France	100 BCE	other	stone	H: 30 cm
47	Crossed Legged Figure	Bouray-sur-Juine	France	100 BCE-100 CE	other	bronze	H: 45 cm
48	Bronze Warrior Figure	Saint-Maur-en-Chaussee, Picardy	France	200 BCE-100 CE	N/A	bronze	H: 55 cm
49	Bronze Dancer	Neuvy-en-Sullias	France	100 BCE-100 CE	other	bronze	H: 13.5 cm

50	Bronze Dancer	Neuvy-en-Sullias	France	100 BCE-100 CE	other	bronze	N/A
51	Bronze Dancer	Neuvy-en-Sullias	France	100 BCE-100 CE	other	bronze	N/A
52	Bronze Dancer	Neuvy-en-Sullias	France	100 BCE-100 CE	other	bronze	N/A
53	Bronze Dancer	Neuvy-en-Sullias	France	100 BCE-100 CE	other	bronze	N/A
54	Bronze Dancer	Neuvy-en-Sullias	France	100 BCE-100 Ce	other	bronze	N/A
55	Bronze Dancer	Neuvy-en-Sullias	France	100 BCE-100 CE	other	bronze	N/A
56	Bronze Dancer	Neuvy-en-Sullias	France	100 BCE-100 CE	other	bronze	N/A
57	Bronze Dancer	Neuvy-en-Sullias	France	100 BCE-100 CE	other	bronze	N/A
58	Warrior Statue	Grezan, Gard	France	400- 100 BCE	N/A	stone	H: 72 cm

Cranial Ele	ition of Lin	Head	Facial Hair	Hair	Torc	Weapon
torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent	present	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
torso and limbs	N/A	absent	absent	absent	absent	sword
absent	N/A	present	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	N/A	present	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	N/A	present	absent	short	absent	absent
absent	N/A	present	absent	short	absent	absent
absent	N/A	present	absent	short	absent	absent
absent	N/A	present	beard	short	absent	absent
torso and limbs	crossed	present	absent	absent	absent	absent
torso and limbs	N/A	present	absent	absent	absent	absent

torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent	present	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	long	present	absent
torso	N/A	present	absent	long	present	absent
torso	N/A	present	absent	absent	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	N/A	present	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	N/A	present	absent	absent	absent	absent
torso	N/A	present	absent	long	present	absent
torso	N/A	present	absent	short	present	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	beard/moustache	short	present	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	long	absent	absent

torso and limbs	parallel	present	beard	short	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	short	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	short	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	long	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	long	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	short	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	long	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	long	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	absent	present	absent

Armor	Animal	ead Coveri	Arm Ring	Finger Ring	r Ring/Ear
shield	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
curiass	absent	absent	single-upper arm	absent	absent
curiass	absent	absent	single-upper arm	absent	absent
curiass	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	veil	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	hat	absent	absent	absent

absent	absent	absent	single-upper arm	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	veil	absent	absent	absent
helmet	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
curiass	absent	absent	single-upper arm	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	boar	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
curiass and shield	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent

absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	paired bracelets	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
curiass and helmet	absent	absent	single-upper arm	absent	absent

Necklace	Belt	Sex Charaa	y Sex Chara
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	present	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	facial hair
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent

absent	absent	penis	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	present	absent	facial hair
absent	absent	vulva	breasts

absent	absent	penis	facial hair
absent	absent	vulva	breasts
absent	present	absent	absent
absent	absent	vulva	breasts
absent	absent	vulva	breasts
absent	absent	penis	absent
absent	absent	vulva	breasts
absent	absent	penis	absent
absent	present	absent	absent

Portugal

ID	Name	Location	Region	Date Range	Site Type	Material
59	Warrior Statue	Castro Di Lezenho, Vila Real	Portugal	200-100 BCE	settlement	stone
60	Warrior Statue	Castro Di Lezenho, Vila Real	Portugal	200-100 BCE	settlement	stone
61	Warrior Statue	Capeludos	Portugal	N/A	N/A	stone
62	Warrior Statue	Citânia de São Julião, Braga	Portugal	200-100 BCE	settlement	stone
63	Warrior Statue	Sanfins, Porto	Portugal	200-100 BCE	settlement	stone
64	Warrior Statue	Santa Comba hillfort, Refojos de Basto, Vila Real	Portugal	N/A	settlement	stone
65	Seated Figure	Oppidum of Briteiros, Braga	Portugal	200-100 BCE	settlement	stone
66	Female Figure	Sendim hillfort, Porto	Portugal	N/A	settlement	stone

Dimensions	Cranial Ele	ition of Lin	Head	Facial Hair	Hair	Torc
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	present	beard/mo ustache	short	present
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	present	beard/mo ustache	short	present
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	absent	absent
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent	absent
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	absent	present
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent	absent
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	absent	present
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent	absent

Weapon	Armor	Animal	ead Coveri	Arm Ring	Finger Ring	r Ring/Ear
dagger	shield	absent	absent	paired-upper arm	absent	absent
dagger	curiass and shield	absent	absent	single-upper arm	absent	absent
absent	shield	absent	hat	absent	absent	absent
absent	curiass and shield	absent	absent	single-upper arm	absent	absent
absent	shield and helmet	absent	absent	single-upper arm	absent	absent
sword	shield	absent	absent	single-upper arm	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent

Necklace	Belt	Sex Charaa	y Sex Chara
absent	present	absent	facial hair
absent	present	absent	facial hair
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	present	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	present	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	breasts
absent	absent	vulva	absent

Italy

ID	Name	Location	Region	Date Range	Site Type	Material
67	Stele	Bormio, Sondrio	Italy	400-300 BCE	settlement	stone
68	Warrior Statue	Capestrano	Italy	600-500 BCE	ritual context	stone
69	Necropolis Figure A	Casale Marittimo, Pisa	Italy	700-675 BCE	burial	stone
70	Necropolis Figure B	Casale Marittimo, Pisa	Italy	700-675 BCE	burial	stone
71	Warrior Head	Crocifisso del Tufo	Italy	550 BCE	burial	stone

Dimensions	Cranial Elen	ition of Lin	Head	Facial Hair	Hair	Torc
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	absent	absent
H: 209 cm	torso and limbs	crossed	present	absent	absent	present
N/A	torso and limbs	parallel	absent	absent	absent	absent
N/A	torso and limbs	crossed	present	absent	absent	absent
N/A	absent	N/A	present	absent	absent	absent

Weapon	Armor	Animal	ead Coveri	Arm Ring	Finger Ring	r Ring/Ear
spear	shield and helmet	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
sword	curiass	absent	hat	paired-upper arm	single	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	helmet	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent

Necklace	Belt	Sex Charaa	y Sex Chara
absent	absent	absent	absent
present	present	absent	absent
absent	present	absent	absent
absent	present	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent

Czech Republic

ID	Name	Location	Region	Date Range	Site Type	Material
72	Carved Head	Mšecké Žehrovice, Bohemia	Czech Republic	180-150 BCE	other	stone
73	Statuette of Man with Instrument	Stradonice, Bohemia	Czech Republic	150-50 BCE	settlement	bronze

Dimensions	Cranial Elevation of Lin	Head	Facial Hair	Hair
H: 22.4 cm	absent	N/A	present	moustache	short
H: 4.8 cm	torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	absent

Torc	Weapon	Armor	Animal	Head Coverin	Arm Ring	Finger Ring	Ear Ring/Ear
present	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	single-upper arm	absent	absent

Necklace	Belt	Sex Charaa	y Sex Chara
absent	absent	absent	facial hair
absent	absent	penis	absent

Slovakia

ID	Name	Location	Region	Date Range	Site Type	Material
74	Man with	Idrija pri	Slovenia	500 BCE	N/A	bronze

Dimension	Cranial Ele	sition of Lin	Head	Facial Hair	Hair
N/A	torso and	parallel	present	absent	absent

Torc	Weapon	Armor	Animal	ead Coveri	Arm Ring	Finger Ring	r Ring/Ear
absent	absent	absent	absent	hat	single	absent	absent

Necklace	Belt	Sex Charaa	y Sex Chara
absent	present	absent	absent

Switzerland

ID	Name	Location	Region	Date Range	Site Type	Material
75	Stone Head	Nyon on Lake	Switzerland	100-60 BCE	settlement	stone
76	Wooden Statue	Yverdon-les-Bains	Switzerland	60 BCE	settlement	wood

Dimension	Cranial Ele	sition of Lin	Head	Facial Hair	Hair	Torc
N/A	absent	N/A	present	absent	short	absent
N/A	torso	N/A	present	absent	long	present

Weapon	Armor	Animal	ead Coveri	Arm Ring	Finger Ring	ir Ring/Ear
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent

Necklace	Belt	Sex Charaa	y Sex Chara
absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent

Croatia

ID	Name	Location	Region	Date Range	Site Type	Material
77	Stone	Nesactium	Croatia	599-500	N/A	stone
78	Stone Head	Nesactium, Istria	Croatia	599-500 BCE	N/A	stone

Dimensions	Cranial Elen	ition of Lin	Head	Facial Hair	Hair	Torc
N/A	absent	N/A	present	beard/mo	short	absent
N/A	absent	N/A	present	absent	short	absent

Weapon	Armor	Animal	ead Coveri	Arm Ring	Finger Ring	ir Ring/Ear
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent

Necklace	Belt	Sex Charaa	y Sex Chara
absent	absent	absent	facial hair
absent	absent	absent	absent

ID	Name	Location	Region	Date Range	Site Type	Material	Dimension
1	Gundestrup Cauldron Head	Rævemosen	Denmark	120-80 BCE	other	silver	H: 42 cm, D: 69 cm
2	Gundestrup Cauldron Head	Rævemosen	Denmark	120-80 BCE	other	silver	H: 42 cm, D: 69 cm
3	Gundestrup Cauldron Head	Rævemosen	Denmark	120-80 BCE	other	silver	H: 42 cm, D: 69
4	Gundestrup Cauldron Head	Rævemosen	Denmark	120-80 BCE	other	silver	H: 42 cm, D: 69
5	Gundestrup Cauldron Head	Rævemosen	Denmark	120-80 BCE	other	silver	H: 42 cm, D: 69
6	Gundestrup Cauldron Head	Rævemosen	Denmark	120-80 BCE	other	silver	H: 42 cm, D: 69
7	Gundestrup Cauldron Head	Rævemosen	Denmark	120-80 BCE	other	silver	H: 42 cm, D: 69 cm
8	Gundestrup Cauldron Head	Rævemosen	Denmark	120-80 BCE	other	silver	H: 42 cm, D: 69 cm
9	Gundestrup Cauldron Head	Rævemosen	Denmark	120-80 BCE	other	silver	H: 42 cm, D: 69
10	Gundestrup Cauldron Head-Animal	Rævemosen	Denmark	120-80 BCE	other	silver	H: 42 cm, D: 69
11	Gundestrup Cauldron Head Animal 2	Rævemosen	Denmark	120-80 BCE	other	silver	H: 42 cm, D: 69 cm
12	Gundestrup Cauldron Head Cernunnos	Rævemosen	Denmark	120-80 BCE	other	silver	H: 42 cm, D: 69 cm

st-Cranial Eleme	Position of Limbs	Head	Facial Hair	Hair	Torc	Weapon	Armor
torso and limbs	parallel	present	beard/moustache	tonsure	absent	absent	absent
torso and limbs	crossed	present	absent	long	present	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	beard	tonsure	present	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	long	present	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	beard/moustache	tonsure	present	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	long	present	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	beard	short	absent	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	beard/moustache	short	present	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	beard/moustache	tonsure	present	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	long	present	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	beard/moustache	tonsure	absent	absent	absent
torso and limbs	parallel	present	absent	short	present	absent	absent

Animal	Head Covering	Arm Ring	Finger Ring	Hair Ring/Earing	Necklace	Belt	r Sexual Charact	ry Sexual Charac
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	facial hair
dog	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	breasts
unknown	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	facial hair
dog and birds	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	breasts
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	facial hair
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	breasts
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	facial hair
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	facial hair
absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	facial hair
griffon, wolf, elephant	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	breasts
griffon, wolf	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent	facial hair
snake, wolf, dear	headdress	absent	absent	absent	absent	present	absent	absent